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ABSTRACT

The Miscellaneous, part III section of the proceedings contains the following 11 papers: "The Relationship between Health and Fitness Magazine Reading and Eating-Disordered Weight-Loss Methods among High School Girls" (Steven R. Thomsen, Michelle M. Weber, and Lora Beth Brown); "A Practical Exercise for Teaching Ethical Decision Making to Advertising Students" (David L. Martinson); "How Media Planning Professionals See Changes in the Marketplace Affecting the Teaching of the Media Planning Course" (Carla V. Lloyd, Jan S. Slater, and Brett Robbs); "Ethics for Editors: What 11 Editing Textbooks Teach" (Susan Keith); "Teaching Communication in an Effective Large Lecture Format" (Madeline M. Keaveney); "Four Gender Equity Models and Why They Matter to Mass Communications Education" (Kim Golombisky); "Integrating Public Speaking into the Advertising Curriculum" (Kim Golombisky); "Media Reliance and Science Knowledge: Do People Learn Science Information from the Media the Same Way They Learn Political Information?" (Raymond N. Ankney); "The PBS Brand versus Cable Brands: Assessing the Brand Equity of Public Television in a Multichannel Environment" (Sylvia M. Chan-Olmsted and Yungwook Kim); "Discrepancy of Gratifications of Online News Readers" (Jung-Yul Cho); and "A National Survey of Public Relations Internship Programs at Mass Communication Programs Accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC)" (Janice Davis and Mary-Lou Galician). (RS)

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The Relationship Between Health and Fitness Magazine Reading and Eating-Disordered Weight-Loss Methods Among High School Girls

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Running head: HEALTH AND FITNESS MAGAZINE READING AND EATING-DISORDERED WEIGHT LOSS METHODS

A paper to be presented to the Magazine Division of the Association for Education In Journalism and Mass Communication, August 2000.

Abstract

The study examined the relationship between reading women's health and fitness magazines and the use of eating-disordered diet methods (laxatives, appetite suppressants/diet pills, skipping two meals a day, intentional vomiting, excessive exercising, and restricting calories to 1,200 a day or less) among a group of 498 high school girls. The authors found moderate, positive associations between reading frequency and these unhealthful behaviors, which are often the first steps toward the development of anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa. The results also found that frequent readers scored significantly higher on the Mizes Anorectic Cognitions Scale, which measures the presence of eating-disordered cognitions, than moderate or infrequent readers.

The Relationship Between Health and Fitness Magazine Reading and Eating-Disordered Weight-Loss Methods Among High School Girls

Introduction

Dieting has become such a common practice among adolescent females in the United States and other western nations that researchers who study this behavior must often make the distinction between "normal" and eating-disordered dieting methods (Polivy & Herman, 1987). Practices thayt would have been considered disordered or pathological a generation or two ago, for example, are commonly viewed today as "societally normal" eating (Polivy & Herman, 1987; Neumark-Sztainer, French, Jeffery, 1996). The most conservative estimates suggest that as many as two-thirds of all high school girls are either on a diet or are thinking about starting one (French, Perry, Leon & Fulkerson, 1995). The number of adolescent girls who say they are dieting to lose weight has grown steadily in the past several decades (Garner & Kearney-Cooke, 1996; Collins, 1988), with those numbers increasingly quite sharply since the mid-1990s (Gordon, 2000).

This dieting trend has paralleled the growing popularity of women's health and fitness magazines ("Women's sports titles," Feb. 7, 2000; Granastein, 1998). In the 1990s, circulation figures for several of the most popular women's fitness magazines grew quite dramatically. *Fitness* magazine, which was founded in 1992, watched its circulation more than double from 1995 to 1999. During that same period, total paid circulation for *Shape* magazine increased by 45 percent, while *Fit* magazine's figures were up 31 percent and *Health's* readership increased by 17 percent.[1] Also during that period a number of traditional women's magazines increased their space devoted to health and fitness issues and a number of new entries joined what was becoming one of the most competitive specialized niches in the industry ("Fitness kick surges," April 8, 1996; "Women's sports titles," Feb. 7, 2000). *Go, girl!* and *Healthy Living* were introduced in 1996, *Women's Sports and Fitness* was launched in 1997, and the long-awaited *Sport Illustrated* *for Women* hit newsstands in 1999. While these magazines are typically written for young women in their 20s and older, they are increasingly popular among teenage, and even pre-teenage, readers.

Concerned that the emphasis on thinness and dieting found in these publications may be inducing adolescent girls to experiment with eating-disordered dietary practices, a number of researchers have begun to explore the possible link between reading health and fitness magazines and the development of attitudes and behaviors consistent with anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa (Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw & Stein, 1994; Harrison & Cantor, 1997; Duncan, 1994; Eskes, Duncan, & Miller, 1998). The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between reading health and fitness magazines and the incidence of several eating-disordered weight loss practices among a group of high school girls. These practices included the use of laxatives and appetite suppressants as well as meal skipping, excessive exercise, extreme caloric restriction, and intentional vomiting.

Relevant Literature

Anorexia nervosa and Bulimia nervosa have been characterized as biopsycho-social disorders resulting in distortions in self-image and self-perception that lead a substantial number of women to develop abnormal attitudes about food and eating. Anorexia is characterized by an intense fear of food and an obsessive desire to control intake that leads many women to literally starve themselves to death. Bulimia is most typically characterized by self-distorted body images and behaviors that include sessions of binging, or excessive eating, followed by purging, which most often, but not always, takes the form of self-induced vomiting (APA, 1994; Wichmann & Martin, 1993; Hittner, 1997). The onset of most eating disorders typically occurs during the period of early adolescent or early adulthood when most young women are not only susceptible to cultural pressure for thinness but also likely to be heavily involved with, and influenced by, the mass media (Smolak & Striegel-Moore, 1996; Heatherton, Mahamedi, Striepe & Field, 1997;

Polivy & Herman, 1987; Levine & Smolak, 1996; Arnett, 1995; Arnett, Larson, & Offer, 1995; Steele & Brown, 1995). The susceptibility to these pressures and influences is heightened in adolescent females because of their intense pre-occupation with appearance and identity development (Collins, 1988; Abramson & Valene, 1991; Czajka-Narins & Parham, 1990).

Teenagers, as a group, may be the heaviest users of many forms of mass media, particularly specialized magazines (Arnett, Larson, & Offer, 1995; Arnett, 1995). Recent circulation figures reported by the Standard Rate and Data Service indicate that more than 6.5 million adolescent girls read *Seventeen*, *Teen* and *YM*, three of the most popular magazines targeted to teenage females, each month. Klein, Brown, Childers, Oliveri, Porter and Dykers (1993) have reported that at least three-fourths of while females between the ages of 12 and 14 read at least one magazine on a regular basis. It is believed that the messages in these magazines are primarily used by readers in the identity development and gender socialization process (Arnett, 1995):

> Adolescents take ideals of what it means to be a man or women partly from the media, which present physical and behavioral gender ideals . . . Magazines are a medium where gender role identity formation is an especially common implicit theme, particularly in magazines for adolescent girls. (p. 522)

A consequence of the use of the media for self-socialization may be the cultivation of unrealistic standards of beauty and the development of symptoms related to anorexia and bulimia (Abramson & Valene, 1991; Collins, 1988; Grogan & Wainwright, 1996; Guillen & Barr, 1994; Hamilton & Waller, 1993; Levine & Smolak, 1996; Levine, Smolak, & Hayden, 1994; Pinhas, Toner, Ali, Garfinkel, & Stuckless, 1999; Shaw, 1995; Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw, & Stein, 1994). "Today's body image ideal is unprecedented," write Garner and Kearney-Cooke (1996), "both in degree of thinness and extent of dissemination." To what degree is the media responsible for this? Several recent studies have attempted to create and map theoretical links between exposure to images and messages promoting the "thin ideal" and eating-disordered behavior (Stice, et al., 1994; Wertheim, Paxton, Schutz, & Muir, 1997). This body of research suggests that adolescent women use the media in conjunction with other sociocultural messages to create an internalized "ideal body" image, and then make it their goal to match this shape (Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, & Kelly, 1986; Stice, et al., 1994). When they become dissatisfied with their inability to match these ideal shapes, many women begin to develop eating-disordered cognitions which may eventually be acted upon in the form anorexic and bulimic behaviors (Stice, et al., 1994; Shaw, 1995).

It is believed that this "thin ideal" is particularly amplified in advertising and in fashion and fitness magazines where body image and attractiveness are heavily emphasized in articles and photographs (Duquin, 1989; Evans, Rutberg, Sather, & Turner, 1991; Guillen & Barr, 1994; Markula, 1995; Shaw, 1995). Several recent studies have content analyzed a number of magazines targeted to women and have suggested that their content supports the perception that female happiness and success is tied to physical appearance, with ultra-thinness being the preferred state of beauty (Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, & Kelly, 1986; Evans, Rutberg, Sather, & Turner, 1991; Guillen & Barr, 1994). Evans et al. (1991), for example, analyzed the content of *Sassy*, *Seventeen*, and *Young Miss* for the year 1988 and concluded that articles purporting to be about "self-improvement" primarily focused on physical beautification. Guillen and Barr (1994) content analyzed 132 issues of *Seventeen* magazine published between 1970 and 1990 and concluded that articles on nutrition and fitness primarily emphasized weight loss and physical attractiveness over general health issues.

Researchers who have looked at women's fitness, health, and sports magazines have made similar observations (Hargreaves, 1994; Duquin, 1989; Markula, 1995). Duncan (1994), for example, argues that *Shape* magazine's regular feature. "Success Stories," accomplishes little more than promoting the idea that beauty is the sole reason for undertaking a healthy lifestyle. In their criticism of women's health and fitness magazines, Eskes, Duncan and Miller (1988) conclude:

> The rash of new fitness magazines for women preach a kind of enlightened narcissism based on health. But their pages are filled with fashion tips, weightloss testimonials, an emphasis on vanity, and a demand for self-sacrifice. On the whole, the message is not so very different from the one found in traditional fashion magazines. It is a familiar appeal for masochistic make-ever in the name of beauty, this time cloaked in a mesomorphic cover-up.

Other studies have explored the potential effects created by exposure to messages promoting the thin ideal. Harrison and Cantor (1997), for example, reported statistically significant relationships between reading fashion magazines and reported "body dissatisfaction" as a well as between reading health and fitness magazines and a "drive for thinness." Shaw (1995) found that adolescents who saw images of thin fashion models were more likely to report higher levels of body dissatisfaction immediately after exposure than those who saw non-fashion images. Paxton and Durkin (1999) reported similar findings in their study of a group of female teenagers in Australia. In addition to heightened body dissatisfaction, exposure to thinness depicting images and content may also lead to short-term reductions in self-esteem (Martin & Gentry, 1997; Irving, 1990), distortions in body-size estimation (Waller, Hamilton, & Shaw, 1992), and greater depressed moods (Pinhas, Toner, Ali, Garfinkel & Stuckless, 1999).

Polivy and Herman (1987) have also argued that the media's constant propagation of information on weight reduction as a desired and preferred behavior has led many young women to engage in eating practices that include severe calorie restriction and excessive fasting. They argue that "societally normal eating may not be normal or appropriate by physiological standards . . . and may . . . be regarded as disordered or pathological" (p. 635). The ability of the media to shape the nutritional behavior and habits of adolescent females should be of great concern because adolescence is a time of peak nutritional demands and many young women use the media as their primary source of nutritional and fitness information (Guillen & Barr, 1994).

Given the emphasis on physical appearance and beauty in specialized magazines frequently read by female adolescents, it might not be surprising that dieting for weight loss or weight control is such a common and widespread practice among that group (Neumark-Sztainer, French, & Jeffery, 1996; Story, Neumark-Sztainer, Sherwood, Stang, & Murray, 1998). Analyzing data collected from 16,296 high school students participating in the 1993 Youth Risk Behavior Survey, Story et al. (1998) found that 57.6 percent of the adolescent girls reported that they had dieted for weight-loss purposes in the week prior to participating in the study.

Adolescents who diet, particularly those who use extreme practices, have been found to be at greater risk to engage in health-compromising behaviors and are more likely to develop of an eating disorders than non-dieters (Grigg, Bowman & Redman, 1996; Lowe, Gleaves, DiSimone-Weiss, Furgeuson, Gayda, Kolsky, Neal-Walden, Nelson, & McKinney, 1996; Polivy & Herman, 1985, 1987). In fact, the risk of developing an eating disorder is believed to be eight times higher among dieting 15 year olds than among their non-dieting friends and classmates (Garner & Kearney-Cooke, 1996). Extreme dieting practices that are considered gateway behaviors leading to more severe eating disorders include using laxatives, diet pills, or intentional vomiting (Story, et al., 1998; Lowe, et al., 1996).

To what degree to adolescent females engage in eating-disordered diet practices? A 1989 national study of female students in the 8th and 10th grades by the U.S. Depart-ment of Health and Human Services, in conjunction with the Public Health Services, the Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, the Centers for Disease Control, and the National Institute on Drug Use, reported the frequency of several high-risk diet methods. The study reported that 45.2 percent of the respondents said they skipped meals, 11.3 percent said they used diet pills, and 7.6 percent said they had made themselves vomit. In a more recent study of 1,015 high school girls, French, Perry, Leon, and Fulkerson (1995), reported smaller figures (skipping meals, 11.6 percent; diet pill use, 5.4 percent; and vomiting, 4.4 percent). Similar results were reported by Nichter, Ritenbaugh, Nichter, Vuckovic, and Aickin (1995), who studied 231 high school girls. They found that 3 percent of their respondents had used self-induced vomiting and 4 percent had used diet pills.

Our review of the literature indicates that most studies that have examined the possible relationship between magazine reading and eating-disordered cognitions and behaviors have focused primarily on women's beauty and fashion magazines and, only to a much smaller degree, health and fitness magazines. Few studies, if any, have examined specific weight control methods, including eating-disordered behaviors, and their association with health and fitness magazine reading. Because of the popularity of health and fitness magazines among adolescent readers in recent years has coincided with an increase in reported dieting, we felt it was important to understand the potential role of health and fitness magazine reading in the etiology of eating-disordered behaviors. The aim of this study, therefore, was to determine whether the frequency with which adolescent females read health and fitness magazines is associated with the use of extreme weight loss and dieting practices (i.e., using laxatives and appetite suppressants, skipping two meals a day, restricting caloric intake, exercising excessively, or intentionally making themselves vomit). Based on our review of the literature, we hypothesized that reading frequency would be positively associated with the use of these eating-disordered weight-loss methods.

Methodology

Study Population

Data were collected via a self-report survey administered to female students enrolled in physical education courses at two suburban high schools in a mid-sized metropolitan area in the western United States. Students at the high schools were predominantly white (93.5 percent) and from middle-class socioeconomic backgrounds.[2]

One week prior to the administration of the surveys 850 parental consent forms (as required by our university Institutional Review Board) were distributed to the girls by their teachers. Five hundred twenty-seven (62 percent) consent forms were returned. In all, 498 (94.5 percent) of the girls who returned consent forms completed the survey.

Measures

Magazine Reading Frequency. Respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which they typically read or looked at women's health and fitness magazines using the following scale: 0 = "never," 1 = "maybe once a year," 2 = "two to five times a year," 3 = "six to 11 times a year," 4 = "once a month," 5 = "two to four times a month," and 6 = "five or more times a month."

Eating-disordered cognitions. The survey instrument included the 33-item Mizes Anorectic Cognitions Scale (MACS), which assesses the presence of cognitions relevant to anorexia nervosa (Mizes, 1990, 1992). The MACS actually measures three dimensions of eating-disordered thinking: rigid weight and eating regulation, the belief that weight and eating are tied to social approval and acceptance, and an excessive, if not compul-sive, drive for self-control. Respondents are asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the 33 statements in the MACS using a five-point Likert-type scale. The MACS produces a total score for each subject that can range from 33 to 165. The higher the score, the greater the presence of eating-disordered cognitions.

Eating-disordered dietary practices. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they have in the past or present used any of the following as part of a diet for the purposes of weight loss or weight control: laxatives, appetite control/weight loss pills, skipping two meals a day, intentional vomiting, exercising two or more hours a day, and limiting calories to less than 1,200 a day.

Demographics. Students were asked to indicate their age and their year in school.

Results

Readership Patterns

In all, 489 female adolescents completed the survey. The respondents ranged in age from 15 to 18 (95.8 percent of the respondents were between the ages of 15 and 17). The distribution of respondents based on "year in school" was fairly evenly split with 30.7 percent indicating they were sophomores, 37.3 percent indicating they were juniors, and 31.9 percent indicating they were seniors.

The survey results support previous claims that health and fitness magazines are popular among female adolescents. Slightly more than 92 percent of the girls indicated that they read women's health and fitness magazines at least once a year. Of those who read, 20.3 percent indicated that they read at least once a month and 25.9 percent reported that they read two or more times a month.

Eating-Disordered Cognitions and Behaviors

Eating-Disordered Diet Methods. One of the goals of this study was to assess the degree to which adolescent females engage in eating-disordered diet methods. The results indicate that the frequency of maladaptive practices, such as taking laxatives, using appetite suppressants, meal skipping, and intentional vomiting, among our subjects is relatively consistent with the findings of other studies. Among our subjects, 10.9 percent reported having used laxatives for weight loss or weight control, 14.7 percent said they have taken appetite control or weight loss pills, 51 percent indicated they have skipped two meals a day as part of a diet, 8.6 percent said they had made themselves vomit, 64.7 percent said they had exercised two or more hours a day for weight loss or weight control, and 52 percent indicated they had restricted their calories to 1,200 or less as part of a diet regime.

Eating Disordered Cognitions. Scores for the Mizes Anorectic Cognitions Scale (MACS) were calculated for each of the subjects and a group mean was computed. Previously published data by Mizes (1990, 1992) allowed us to assess the overall pattern of eating-disordered cognitions among our subjects. In previous studies, Mizes found that non-eating disordered control group members tend to score about 65 on his scale. The mean score for anorexic test groups was approximately 116. The mean score for our subjects was 77.9, which could be interpreted as being slightly above average. The scores for our subjects ranged from 33 to 143, with 34 (6.8 percent) of our young women scoring above the reported mean score for anorexic women.

To assess the impact of health and fitness magazine reading on eating-disordered cognitions as measured by the MACS, our subjects were placed into three groups based on reported reading frequency ("frequent," "moderate," and "infrequent"). Those subjects who indicated they read once a month or more were placed into the "frequent" group. Those who read two to 11 times a year were placed in the "moderate" group and those who read once a year or less were placed in the "infrequent" group. A one-way ANOVA was calculated to compare differences in group means. The results indicate that "frequent" readers ($M = 84.6$) scored significantly higher than "moderate" ($M = 72.3$) and "infrequent" ($M = 70.8$) readers on the MACS ($F_{[2, 494]} = 19.159$, $p < .000$). Post hoc (Bonferroni) analyses confirm this finding and indicate that while the "frequent" readers scored significantly higher than the other two groups, the difference between mean scores for the "moderate" and "infrequent" readers was not statistically significant.

Health and Fitness Magazine Reading and Eating-Disordered Diet Methods

A primary goal of this study was to explore the relationship between women's health and fitness magazine reading and the use of extreme weight loss and dieting practices (i.e., restricting caloric intake, skipping two meals a day, using appetite suppressants or diet pills, using laxatives, excessive exercising, or intentionally making themselves vomit). To do this, data was placed in cross-tabular form and Goodman and Kruskal's Gammas were used to measure the association between reading frequency (employing the "frequent," "moderate," and "infrequent" groupings) and the use of different eating-disordered diet methods. Sirkin (1995) and Baker (1999) describe the appropriateness of using gamma to evaluate ordinal-by-ordinal tables, even when one of the two variables is a nominal dichotomy. According to Baker (1999), one of the strengths of gamma is that it allows us to assess both the strength and the direction of the association between the two variables in the table.

Laxative Use. As can be seen in Table 1, 61.1 percent of those who use, or have used, laxatives are also frequent readers of health and fitness magazines. An examination the epsilon (high-low percentage differences; See Baker, 1999) for that row, indicates a 50 percentage- point difference between the "frequent" and "infrequent" readers. The statistical analysis of the table produced a gamma of .305 ($p < .012$), indicating a moderate, positive association between reading frequency and laxative use.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Appetite Suppressant/Weight Control Pill Use. We had originally hypothesized that increased health and fitness magazine reading frequency would be associated with the use of appetite suppressants or weight control pills. As Table 2 indicates, a moderate, positive association was found between these two variables ($\gamma = .495$, $p < .000$). Of those who said they use, or have used, appetite suppressants or weight control pills, 72.6 percent were also frequent readers of health and fitness magazines. Among those who said "yes," the "frequent"-"infrequent" difference was 61.6 percent.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Skipping 2 meals a day. As Table 3 reveals, a positive, but much weaker relationship was found between skipping two meals a day and the frequency with which our subjects read health and fitness magazines ($\gamma = .172$, $p < .021$). As the table indicates, 52.4 percent of the frequent readers said they had skipped two meals a day for the purposes of weight loss or weight control. An examination of the epsilon for the "yes" row indicates a much more modest 33.5-percent difference. Given the large number of girls who said they have skipped two or more meals a day, it is probably not surprising to find a weaker relationship here than is the case with some of the other measures.

Insert Table 3 About Here

Intentional Vomiting. As can be seen in Table 4, a strong, positive association was found between reading frequency and self-induced, or intentional, vomiting ($\gamma = .586$, $p <. 000$). Of the 43 girls who said they had made themselves vomit, 34 (79.1 percent) were also "frequent" readers. The epsilon for the "yes" row indicates nearly a 70 percentage-point difference between the "infrequent" and "frequent" readers.

Insert Table 4 About Here

Exercising more than 2 hours a day. It might be expected that avid readers of health and fitness magazines would also be serious exercisers. This appears to be the case. As indicated by Table 5, there is a moderate, positive association between reading frequency and exercising two or more hours a day for the purposes of weight loss or weight control ($\gamma = .300$, $p <. 000$). Of the 321 girls who said they exercise two or more hours a day for weight loss or weight control purposes, 170 (53 percent) were also frequent readers. Within the "yes" row, the percentage-point increase from "infrequent" to "frequent" was 36.2 percent. An examination of the column for "frequent" readers only indicates that the "frequent" readers who exercise two or more hours a day outnumbered those who don't by nearly three to one.

Insert Table 5 About Here

Restricting calories to less than 1,200 a day. Extreme caloric restriction is not only an unhealthful practice for adolescent females but also an indication of eating-disordered dietary habits. Slightly more than half the girls in our study said they have restricted their daily caloric intake to less than 1,200. Not surprisingly, the data indicates a moderate, positive correlation between reading frequency and restricting calories to less than 1,200 a day ($\gamma = .351$, $p <. 000$). Of those who restrict, or have restricted, 57.6 percent are "frequent" readers. In fact, among the "frequent" readers, restricters outnumber non-restricters nearly two to one.

Insert Table 6 About Here

Discussion

The goal of this study was to explore the association between the reading of women's health and fitness magazines and the use of eating-disordered diet methods by adolescent females. Overall, the results of our survey of 498 high school girls indicate that frequent readers of this type of magazine have significantly higher levels of eating-disordered cognitions than moderate or infrequent readers and that reading appears to be positively associated with the use of unhealthful, high-risk diet practices such as taking laxatives and appetite suppressants or weight-control pills as well as skipping two meals a day, intentional vomiting, excessive exercise, and restricting calories to less than 1,200 a day. All of these behaviors are believed to place teenage girls at a high risk for the development of more severe and long-term eating disorders, such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa.

The findings of this study corroborate other research that suggests that the mass media, women's magazines in particular, may be an important sociocultural influence in the development and perpetuation of eating-disordered attitudes and behaviors. While our findings suggest an association between the reading of health and fitness magazines and the use of eating-disordered diet methods, it is not possible to conclude that reading is a direct causal factor in this relationship based on this analysis. Social comparison theory, however, may help provide a possible explanation or interpretation of this association and, in so doing, suggest directions for future exploration.

Social comparison theory suggests that people, in a process of self-assessment or self-evaluation, compare themselves to individuals whom they believe represent or possess desirable social and cultural traits, including physical beauty and perfection, and then engage in goal-directed behavior to match those standards (Festinger, 1954; Martin & Gentry, 1997). Botta (1999) has used this theory to understand and predict body-image disturbance or dissatisfaction in adolescent girls. Martin and Gentry (1997) also drew from this theory to explore and explain the impact television commercials and magazines advertisements on adolescent girls. They contend that adolescents who use magazines to make social comparisons are usually driven primarily by two motives: self-evaluation and self-improvement. Both motivations are consistent with the Arnett's (1995) contention that adolescent media use is linked to socialization, with physical appearance being an important component of social identity development.

If the editorial shift in women's health and fitness magazines has in fact been toward exercise and weight loss for the primary purpose of physical beautification rather than for general health purposes, as has been suggested by other studies reviewed in this article, frequent reading may reinforce the desirability of the sociocultural preference for extreme thinness and result in both automatic and goal-directed comparisons. Social comparison theory suggests that adolescent females who read health and fitness magazines may come to believe that the "ideals" in these magazines (presented in photographs, ads, and articles) represent realistically attainable goals and act upon this belief through the adoption of dieting practices that are encouraged by the magazines. The more motivated they become to attain the "thin ideal" the more willing they may be to experiment with unhealthful and high-risk diet methods. This explanation suggests the need for further research to explore how goal-directed and forced automatic comparisons influence adolescent readers' beliefs about the desirability of thinness, perceptions of one's own physical appearance, and a willingness to try more extreme weight-loss and weight-control tactics, such as laxative and diuretic use, intentional vomiting, excessive fasting, caloric restriction and exercise.

A second possible explanation to our findings worth considering may be that adolescent readers who are already pre-occupied with physical appearance selectively choose to read these magazines because of the perceived utility of the information on diet and weight-loss methods found in them. Rather than being induced into unhealthful diet practices by the magazines, they may use the magazines to support and reinforce already emerging eating-disordered attitudes and behaviors that have been cultivated through exposure to a variety of social, cultural, familial, and environmental sources. This suggests that the true nature of the relationship might be best explained by discovering those factors that are antecedents to reading frequency. Future research should explore the motivations or perceived needs, for example, that lead to frequent reading and that might, in turn, shed light on how reading either precipitates, or supports eating-disordered attitudes and behaviors.

In summary, this study has demonstrated a positive relationship between health and fitness magazines reading and eating-disordered diet practices among high school girls. It is one of the first to explore the link between the reading frequency of this type of magazine and high-risk dieting behaviors such as laxative use, meal skipping, caloric restriction, and intentional vomiting. In so doing, it has raised a number of questions about the nature of this relationship and how the consumption of this type of magazine plays a role in the etiology of eating disorders. Given the popularity of health and fitness magazines among adolescent females and the degree to which they may be vulnerable to media images and messages that promote extreme thinness at almost any cost, these findings suggest the need for future research to help us better understand the effects of readership on dieting attitudes and behavior.

Endnotes

[1] Percentages were based on total paid circulation figures reported in the December 1995 (Vol. 77, No. 12), December 1997 (Vol. 79, No. 12), and March 2000 (Vol. 82, No. 3) editions of the Standard Rate and Date Service directories (SRDS).

[2] Data provided by the school district gives the following ethnic breakdown: White, 93.5 percent; Hispanic, 4 percent; Asian/Pacific, 1.5 percent; Native American, .4 percent; African-American, .4 percent.

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TABLE 1

Laxative Use by Health and Fitness Magazine Reading Frequency

	Reading Frequency		
Laxative Use	Frequent	Moderate	Infrequent
Yes	33 (61.1%)[a]	15 (27.8%)	6 (11.1%)
No	196 (44.3%)	155 (35.1%)	91 (20.6%)

$\gamma = .305$, $p < .012$, $n = 496$

[a] Percentages are for cell counts within rows

TABLE 2

Appetite Suppressants/Weight Control Pill Use by Health and Fitness Magazine Reading Frequency

	Reading Frequency		
Diet Pill Use	Frequent	Moderate	Infrequent
Yes	53 (72.6%)[a]	12 (16.4%)	8 (11.0%)
No	177 (41.6%)	158 (37.2%)	90 (21.2%)

$\gamma = .495$, $p < .000$, $n = 498$

[a] Percentages are for cell counts within rows

TABLE 3

Skipping Two Meals a Day by Health and Fitness Magazine Reading Frequency

	Reading Frequency		
Skipped 2 Meals	Frequent	Moderate	Infrequent
Yes	133 (52.4%)[a]	73 (28.7%)	48 (18.9%)
No	97 (39.8%)	97 (39.8%)	50 (20.5%)

$\gamma = .172, p < .021, n = 498$

[a] Percentages are for cell counts within rows

TABLE 4

Intentional Vomiting by Health and Fitness Magazine Reading Frequency

	Reading Frequency		
Vomits	Frequent	Moderate	Infrequent
Yes	34 (79.1%)[a]	5 (11.6%)	4 (9.3%)
No	196 (43.1%)	165 (36.3%)	94 (20.7%)

$\gamma = .586, p < .000, n = 498$

[a] Percentages are for cell counts within rows

TABLE 5

Exercising 2 or More Hours a Day for Weight Loss or Control by Health and Fitness Magazine Reading Frequency

	Reading Frequency		
2 Hours Exercise	Frequent	Moderate	Infrequent
Yes	170 (53.0%)[a]	97 (30.2%)	54 (16.8%)
No	59 (33.7%)	73 (41.7%)	43 (24.6%)

$\gamma = .300$, $p < .000$, $n = 496$

[a] Percentages are for cell counts within rows

TABLE 6

Restricting Daily Calories to Less Than 1,200 by Health and Fitness Magazine Reading Frequency

	Reading Frequency		
Less than 1,200	Frequent	Moderate	Infrequent
Yes	148 (57.6%)[a]	69 (26.8%)	40 (15.6%)
No	82 (34.5%)	100 (42.0%)	56 (23.5%)

$\gamma = .351$, $p < .000$, $n = 495$

[a] Percentages are for cell counts within rows

Advertising Division

A Practical Exercise for Teaching Ethical Decision Making to Advertising Students

by

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A Practical Exercise for Teaching Ethical Decision Making to Advertising Students

Several years ago I authored a paper I which I argued that it was essential that advertising students be motivated to do the right thing, not just know it.[1] In that paper I questioned the "at least implicit assumption that many of the ethical problems confronting advertising men and women will be surmounted once a majority of persons active in the field are motivated to acknowledge that serious ethical issues confront them."[2] I asserted that:

> A concern for advertising ethics will be of little relevancy...if that concern is not translated into something more than an intellectual appreciation of what it means to be ethical....
>
> If those teaching advertising courses with significant ethics components are concerned about having a genuine--as opposed to cosmetic--impact on how their students translate what is taught in the classroom to the "real world," they must focus on the idea of oughtness....what can instructors do...to motivate students to willing act more ethically once they move beyond the confines of the classroom, to do what ethically ought

to be done when faced with a particular ethical dilemma?[3]

I suggested that the first task in such an effort centers around demonstrating "to students the relevancy of ethics to their 'everyday' lives--quite apart from a specific focus on advertising."[4] I quoted an earlier article in which I argued that "before students can appreciate how the writings of a Plato or a Kant can provide insight into future decisions they make...(in advertising), it is necessary to show how ethical decision making impacts on their present situations."[5]

In this paper I would like to present a practical means for achieving this objective--a means that I believe the advertising teacher can use to stimulate class discussion and interest in the importance and **practical relevance** of ethical decision making.

Stimulating the Moral Imagination

The Hastings Center has been a leader in efforts to improve the teaching of ethics in colleges and universities. Daniel Callahan, director of the center's Institute of Society, Ethics and Life Sciences, maintains that an ethics course will remain "nothing other than an abstract intellectual exercise...unless a student's feelings and imagination are stimulated."[6] Callahan contends that "students must be provoked to understand that there is a 'moral point of view,' that human beings live their lives in a web of moral relationships...the emotional side of students must...be elicited or evoked."[7]

Once the moral imagination has been aroused, it is more likely that students will begin to recognize ethical issues--the second step in attempting to "teach" the importance of ethics and ethical decision making. Certainly students will never behave in an ethical manner once they enter the "real world" of advertising if they do not "recognize when moral assessment of a situation is called for."[8] What is the benefit in advertisers having aroused moral imaginations if they are unable to recognize an ethical issue when it confronts them?

That is why I believe it is beneficial if instructors in undergraduate courses having a significant ethics component spend considerable class time considering ethical questions that have direct and immediate relevancy to the lives of students. Too often when students hear the word ethics, their eyes begin to glaze over. Unfortunately, such a response is understandable in many cases because students simply do not see the connection between being ethical and the "more important" issues in their lives.

Furthermore, why even bother discussing ethical decision making if those discussions are not going to have an impact on students and their behavior once students leave the classroom? While some students might be impressed that an instructor in an advertising course can find a connection between Aristotle's **Nicomachean Ethics** and contemporary advertising, one would have to say "so what" if students do not become more ethical persons and more ethical practitioners once they leave the "ivy covered walls" and enter the "real world."

In this regard, I am in firm agreement with Thomas Lickona when he asserts that we, as teachers, must "find ways to fire the will as well as the intellect, to engage the heart as deeply as the mind, and to put will, intellect, and feeling to the test of behavior."[9] Otherwise, Lickona is correct when he suggests that "the whole huge effort to teach ethics...(may as well) be judged a cruelly disappointing failure."[10]

I have found a simple and practical exercise that almost infallibility fires the heart--and passions--of students in my courses. In fact, I have seen passions arise to the point where one might suggest that perhaps I have engaged in "too much firing." In the process I am able to:

(1) Distinguish ethics from law.

(2) Emphasize the important role the intellect plays in arriving at ethical decisions.

(3) Discuss Kohlberg's stages of moral development and the relevancy of that discussion to professionalism.

(4) Touch upon the importance of moral virtue in developing the will to be an ethical professional.

(5) Suggest some parameters for making ethical decisions within the context of persuasive communications.

Distinguishing Ethics from Law

I begin by pointing out that one must distinguish between ethics and law. I like to quote John Merrill in this regard when he states: "Ethics has to do with 'self-legislation' and 'self-enforcement'; although it is...related to law, (ethics)...is of a different nature."[11] In short, ethics "deals with 'owes' and 'oughts,' what obligations we owe or to responsibilities we have...what we 'should do'...unlike law, which tells us what we can do or what we can get away with."[12]

That allows me to enter into a discussion of speeding on the highway. I suggest to students that obeying posted speed limits "simply" because one is afraid of getting a traffic ticket is an example of obeying the letter to the law. Obeying posted speed limits when there is no chance of receiving a speeding ticket on the other hand, I assert, is an example of behaving ethically.

A sizeable number of students respond rather indignantly to this suggestion. Over the many years that I have been teaching, I know I have said too many unkind things to students--fortunately they have usually been rather forgiving. To suggest, however, that they may not be ethical drivers is tantamount to asserting that their mothers are not virtuous. It would be dangerous to use this example too close to the time student evaluations of the course are distributed!

Recently, for example, one student declared that she enjoyed "driving fast" and suggested--at least implicitly--that I had no right to insinuate she behaved in an unethical manner. This gave me a chance to reinforce what ethics is all about--whether one is speaking about driving on a highway or preparing a deceptive advertising campaign.

I asked her why speed limits were posted in the first place. She developed something of a blank look. I suggested they were posted because someone with some amount of expertise had determined that such a speed was the maximum safely allowable under the traffic conditions on that particular roadway. Then I reminded her that ethics is all about doing good **where others are concerned.** I reminded her that we had already made the point in class that "overcoming...egocentricity is an essential element of moral development."[13]

Unable to completely disguise the level of frustration that was building in me, I told her that if she really believed what she had said, then indeed she was providing a classic example of how one would describe unethical behavior behind the wheel. Further, I continued, if she brought that attitude to her driving, she probably would not be a very ethical communicator either. If one has no concern about the safety of others on a highway, for example, it certainly stretches the imagination to believe that individual will be genuinely concerned about the ethics of engaging in a particularly deceptive communications campaign.

Using the Intellect

Ethical decision making in life generally--and advertising specifically--can be defined as an exercise in which one applies the cognitive process to making judgments about the "goodness" or "badness" of particular actions. The moral philosopher would argue "that...(an acknowledgement that individuals) do make judgements of right and wrong...is the basic fact of experience from which ethics takes it start."[14] In making those judgments, the individual must "reason" his or her way through a particular ethical question/dilemma:

> ...the good life is the life of reason, a life of intelligently controlled energy directing the thrust of our being, a life of rationally chosen means conducive to a rationally apprehended end...For Plato the man in whom the rational is predominant is the philosopher...The Stoics call reason the **hegemonikon**, or ruling power, by which a man conforms himself to the law of nature, frees himself from being a plaything of his feelings, and lives the life of a wise man.[15]

Students, however, frequently appear to believe that being ethical is simply a matter of feelings--if they do the wrong thing they should feel bad, if they do the right thing they should feel good. Although the importance of feelings should not be completely discounted, ethical professionals understand "that conscience, especially reflective conscience, is not merely a matter of feelings."[16] Obviously some pretty awful actions are committed by persons who do not appear to "feel" particularly remorseful about having engaged in them.

The advertiser, for example, who implements a campaign utilizing literally true, but nevertheless very deceptive messages, may feel rather comfortable with him/herself because that person believes no one will be able to accuse him/her of lying. Furthermore, they may also be rather confident that they will face no legal pressure since the information disseminated was--in at least some fashion--true. I am amazed, for example, at the number of students who see nothing wrong with the infamous Profile Bread ad where it was suggested Profile Bread would help one lose weight because it had fewer calories--without mentioning the fact that it had fewer calories only because it was sliced thinner!

Once again I find my "speeding driver" example useful to illustrating the importance of the use of reason in making ethical decisions.

Invariably a student will argue that it is safer to exceed the speed limit if one is attempting to "keep up with the flow of traffic." Students are surprised when I allow that I may agree with that argument--conditionally. Ethics, I insist, does not simply involve following the letter of the law. Yes, it is conceivable that there are circumstances where one could--should, or even must--exceed the speed limit in order to behave ethically.

An example might be a case in which my neighbor suffers a heart attack. My neighbor will die if I do not rush him to the hospital--there isn't time to call an ambulance. If I were to insist on rigidly following the 30 mile-per-hour speed limit in my neighborhood because "that was the law," I would be behaving in a most unethical manner. It is conceivable that if I exceeded that speed limit I might be ticketed by a policeman. The ticket, however, would be a small price to pay proportionately for saving my neighbor's life. In order words, my obligations to my conscience are greater than those to the law--at least as far blindly obeying the letter of that law is concerned.

It is important, however, that students understand that there was more than feelings involved in this decision. I **reasoned** that it was ethically responsible to exceed the speed limit. Important to this reasoning process, I was not thinking in **self-interested** terms. I was moving beyond egocentricity because my concern centered around helping my neighbor. Furthermore, it was also necessary I that use my reasoning powers to determine just how fast I should drive to the hospital. It would not be ethical, for example, to go 90 miles-per-hour through a residential area since the danger to others--particularly small children--would proportionality outweigh the benefits in attempting to save my neighbor.

Analogously, there may be circumstances in which an advertiser may ethically determine that he or she need not follow exactly the letter of the law. That decision, however, must be one in which the reasoning process is utilized in a manner that moves beyond self-interested concerns. One expects that the advertiser who determines that he or she will be acting ethically in going beyond the letter of the law will be able and willing to provide reasons that will justify such an action. According to ethicist Sissela Bok, "to justify is to defend as just, right, or proper, by providing adequate reasons."[17] Jaksa and Pritchard note that:

> If what we do never had any effect on the well-being or interests of others, moral justification would be of little...interest... To attempt to justify...is to offer reasons... that, ideally, can be found acceptable to anyone capable of rationally considering it, not just to oneself....Those who take it seriously can be said to be attempting to be reasonable (that is, to reason with others).[18]

The advertiser who several years ago, for example, thought up the campaign which insinuated that a particular automobile was very quiet by comparing that car to a glider must not have had his or her moral imagination stimulated. The advertiser "conveniently" left out the fact "that a glider is noisy in flight."[19] An advertiser concerned about ethics would surely see the ethical issue and recognize that the deceptive wording was being employed only because it was a form of manipulation being utilized in an effort to convince the public that it should purchase a particular automobile on something other than the true merits of the vehicle. It is difficult to imagine any circumstance under which an advertiser would be able to ethically justify such a campaign.

Moral Development

It is important that students in advertising, if they are to advance toward something even approaching **professionalism**, internalize the ethical values germane to what it is advertisers do. This means they must move well beyond what Kohlberg calls preconventional thinking--which might be described as behaving in a "good" manner because one is afraid of being punished if he or she does wrong or rewarded if he/she does that which is good.[20]

Advertising students need to recognize, for example, that many people distrust advertising because they believe--with good reason--that too often advertisers "tell the truth" only when they have to and only to that "level" which will allow them to escape Federal Trade Commission or other regulatory agency sanctions. Too many advertisers, as noted, become "expert" at making deceptive claims without telling literal untruths--ie: the aspirin manufacturer who argued that its brand was recommend by doctors more often than other "leading brands," without mentioning that doctors more often simply recommended the generic brand![21]

The **genuine** professional operates at Kohlberg's third level--what Kohlberg calls postconventional thinking.[22] One might argue, in fact, that it is only at this level that authentic ethical decision making comes into play because "it is marked by **critical reflection**...(a) perspective...(that) ultimately leads one autonomously to base moral judgments on considerations of...universal, abstract moral principles."[23] The advertiser, for example, is honest not because he or she is concerned about breaking the law, but because ethical persons are by definition honest--one thinking reflectively is honest in their dealings with others because clearly that is the only way in which they demonstrate respect for other persons.

Once again, the "speeding driver" example can be useful in making this point. The ethical driver, I emphasize, drives within posted speed limits because he or she understands that by doing so one is respecting the rights and welfare of others. It is not that they are frightened about receiving a speed ticket--that is preconventional thinking. They drive within posted speed limits because they **understand** that in doing so they are "doing the right thing"--and they understand **why** it is the right thing.

In fact, the ethical driver, the ethical advertiser, or the ethical person generally, must base his or her decisions on:

> ...considerations of universal human rights and respect for human dignity, rather than simply self-interest, concern for friends or loved ones, or regard for some particular social or political structure. This detached perspective does not mean that the latter considerations are rejected as irrelevant; rather they are considered in relation to each other and to...(broader universal) principles....those who reason at this level exhibit greater independence of mind in moral

judgment at the same time that they embrace a more comprehensive and impartial point of view.[24]

The driver who makes decisions at the postconventional level will not exceed posted limits in order to arrive at his or her destination sooner because to do so would be thinking in **self-interested terms**. An advertiser who arrives at ethical judgments through a process of postconventional thinking will similarly not act self-interestedly--whether from his or her own perspective or that of a particular client.

Ethical Persuasion

Students have a very difficult time differentiating egoistic self-interest from ethical self-interest. It is useful to remind them of Harman's admonition that we must not give "too loose an interpretation of self-interest."[25] In this regard, one might cite Rachels' contention that "brushing my teeth, working hard at my job, and obeying the law, are all in my self-interest but none of these are examples of selfish conduct."[26] Rachels provides an excellent analogy to which students can related when he asserts that one could "not call me selfish for eating a normal meal in moral circumstances (although it may surely be in my self-interest); but you would call me selfish for hoarding food while others about are starving."[27] In short, "selfish behavior is behavior that ignores the interests of others, in circumstances in which their interests ought not to be ignored."[28]

Once again the speeding driver is a useful example in making this point. Surely wearing a seat belt is in one's self-interest--but it is not selfish behavior. Similarly, having a good set of tires is also in one's self-interest. In this case, however, it is also the ethical thing to do because substandard tires may not only cause harm to the individual immediately concerned, a tire failure may also present a significant danger to others.

Callously ignoring the posted speed limit is clearly an example of unethical behavior because it is an example of egoistic self-interest. It is an example of egoistic self-interest because one is thinking of one's self and not considering the interests of others in a circumstance in which those interests should be considered. The driver would ignores posted speed limits is not ethical because:

> It is...a plausible hypothesis about our use of the word 'moral' that conventions are correctly called moral conventions only if they are conventions of respect for participants.... Given this hypothesis...it would follow almost by definition that moral reasons are based on concern for others and not on self-interest.
>
> To act for reasons of morality is to act, not out of self-interest, but out of an intrinsic concern and respect for people as "ends in themselves."[29]

Students need to appreciate that an advertiser will act ethically only when that person has motivated the ethical imagination so that he or she is able to recognize potential recipients of advertising messages as persons who are "ends in themselves." Kenneth Andersen correctly points out that ethical persuasion can be characterized as a process that attempts "to effect a voluntary change in the attitudes and/or actions of the receiver(s)."[30] Andersen maintains that "functioning at its best, it (persuasion) both affirms and contributes to the mutual respect and self respect of those jointly participating in the persuasion process."[31]

The ethical advertiser, if that person does his or her job well, will be acting in his or her self-interest. But it will not be a selfish self-interest because in doing the job well, that person will not engage in any effort to manipulate those to whom advertising messages are directed. Just as the ethical driver ordinarily will obey posted speed limits because that is the right thing to do, the ethical advertiser will respect those to whom advertising message are directed "simply" because that also is the right thing to do. To attempt to mislead others with false and/or deceptive messages is not ethical behavior generally because it shows a glaring lack of respect for those to whom such messages are directed. The "rules" of ethics do not change when one enters into the world of contemporary advertising.

Conclusions

An introduction to advertising book begins its ethics section by suggesting that "to the casual observer it would appear that advertisers and consumers are at war. Consumers charge that advertisers have permeated every inch of their personal space with offensive and irrelevant messages."[32] The authors also point out that an "Opinion Research survey found that approximately 80 percent of respondents felt that advertising was a 'deceptive persuader'."[33]

Some in advertising, of course, contend that ethical behavior in the field isn't all that bad. They do not question the validity of research showing that people distrust advertising. They suggest, however, that the "average" person simply doesn't understand what advertising is or the role it plays in fostering a viable democratic society. They argue that survey data and other indicators suggesting the public has a deep distrust of advertising and advertiser ethics are more reflective of public ignorance than actual behavior in the field.

Even if one accepts that position--and many do not--it also remains true, to modify a phrase coined by Patterson and Wilkins, that ethical advertising is better advertising.[34] Patterson and Wilkins contend that "the most compelling reason for making ethical choices, other than internal personal satisfaction, is what ethical behavior can contribute to the profession."[35]

The problem for professors, as noted, centers around getting students interested to the point where they are willing to even consider the important role ethics has to play in both their personal lives and in the advancement of their chosen profession.

How can we expect advertising students to begin to "put their ethical 'house' in order if they do not know that it is out of order?"[36] Rosen argues that any teacher of ethics will "often notice very early that a significant portion of the class does not recognize that they make moral judgments, act on the basis of ethical evaluations, or are enmeshed in a moral environment."[37] He notes:

> A...problem is the age of most undergraduates in ethics courses, viz., usually between 18 and 21. Aristotle suggests that the study of ethics should not begin until after age 30, for people do not have sufficient maturity and experience. Young students are frequently unsympathetic to those who act out of fear...They also tend to believe that they, as individuals, are not susceptible to moral corruption and temptation.[38]

That is why I believe using exercises like the one discussed in this paper is so important. Somehow the advertising teacher needs to "light the spark" that will enable students to recognize that the world would be a very "mean" place if no one was concerned about "doing good." They also need to recognize the significance of advice given by practitioners like David Ogilvy when he tells advertisers that one should "never run an advertisement you would not want your family to see."[39]

That will only happen if students are able to recognize why "small" and personal actions like carelessly disregarding posted speed limits are examples of "bad" behavior because those engaging in such actions do not consider the welfare of others. I find, as noted, that using such examples can generate vigorous class debate--a first step in stimulating the moral imagination.

Endnotes

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How Media Planning Professionals See Changes in the Marketplace Affecting the Teaching of the Media Planning Course

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How Media Planning Professionals See Changes in the Marketplace Affecting the Teaching of the Media Planning Course

Abstract

The old ways of delivering, planning, buying and selling media are changing as new technology, new thinking, new approaches and new structures take over. Those involved in today's media must cope with these changes daily, while anticipating the changes yet to come. And in the face of this transformation, media strategy is being created in ways unheard of just a few years ago, rewriting the book on media planning. How do these changes affect the way media planning is taught in university advertising programs? This study explores just that.

A national survey of media professionals found that professors must adapt to the changes as well. This paper outlines the opinions of these experts and provides recommendations as to how professors need to adapt their media planning courses to better prepare their students for careers in media planning.

How Media Planning Professionals See Changes in the Marketplace Affecting the Teaching of the Media Planning Course

INTRODUCTION

The media world has been rocked by change. "Old ways" of delivering, planning, buying and selling media are crumbling, being chipped away by new technology, new thinking, new approaches and new structures. This maelstrom of change has been swift and constant, occurring over the last 25 years (McLaughlin, p. 4). However, the upheaval brought on by the past decade alone, is considered "phenomenal." (McLaughlin, p. 4).

Those involved with today's media -- planners, buyers, sellers and distributors -- must cope with these changes daily, while anticipating the changes yet to come. Not only has the landscape changed, so have the players. Technology is fueling immense competition, creating an overly crowded marketplace vying for limited advertising dollars and waning consumer attention. Media planning professionals, who must navigate through all this change to find ways to deliver clients' messages to consumers, work during a time that is perhaps like no other in media's history. For example, today's media planning professionals work at a time when:

- Digital technology is creating more media choices than ever before.
- Intense competition is forcing media companies into branding themselves, while providing more consumer benefits.
- Consumers are "confronted with an avalanche of choices" making it more difficult to gain their attention (Wolf, p. 32).
- Audience fragmentation has replaced mass audiences.

- Established research methods are being challenged and old evaluative measures such as reach and efficiency are being replaced with consumer information (Heyer, p. 63).
- Clients are demanding more accountability, providing a direct casual relationship between marketing expenditures and sales (Heyer p. 63).
- Consolidation of advertising agencies and media companies are routine.
- Agency media departments are being unbundled and restructured to increase media buying clout and to attract new business.
- Media strategy is viewed as critical to accomplishing the communication goals for a brand.
- There are fewer media owners, but they control massive media conglomerates.

Not surprisingly, in the face of media's epochal transformation, media strategy is created in ways unheard of just a few years ago. In the past, media strategies were predominantly developed by advertising agencies' media departments. Many still are, but even full-service advertising agencies' media departments are changing to adapt to the new environment. Media departments are being spun off, creating media services agencies, or re-structured and beefed-up to supply clients with a complete arsenal of services allowing for total marketing communications planning. The real newcomer to the expanding list of media services are "media strategy boutiques," a British innovation making its way to the states. These boutiques are made up of a "new wave of media strategists" who are firmly grounded in account planning. They think "out of the box" to develop unique ways of communicating to the consumer (Mandese, p. 32). These new boutiques neither plan nor buy media. They just create and recommend strategy, the implementation of which is left up to someone else. The fact is that media planning and buying now occur in a growing number of venues, many of which are separate from the traditional advertising agency structure.

The book on media planning is also being completely re-written. In 1999, the world's second-largest media spender, Unilever who appropriates $51 billion across 88 countries, called for a complete overhaul of its global communications to make "media planning the driving force in brand communications " (Bidlake, 1999, p. 3). This major move gives media "precedence over creative strategy" (Bidlake, 1999 p. 3). For Unilever, this means "communications channels will be chosen before an agency is briefed on the creative work needed" (Bidlake, 1999, p. 3). According to industry experts, this mega-jolt of change will have an after-shock effect on the entire marketplace, leading to "media account reviews, a shake-up in agency structures, and will weaken the hold that creative agencies have on advertising budgets" (Bidlake, 1999, p. 1 & 3).

This overview, albeit brief, shows how the media landscape is being convulsed by change and how the process of strategic media planning is adapting to this rapid-fire evolution. All of these changes --from fragmentation to clutter to the rise of the Internet-- directly impact how media planning courses are taught in university programs. With so much transformation happening at lightening speed, the question really becomes a matter of what should and shouldn't be stressed in media planning courses. Which topics are most critical for students to understand and what skills must they master to have a running chance to succeed in increasingly more demanding entry-level media positions? With so many more media choices, and with the goal to create total marketing communications programs that cut across disciplines and platforms like never before, how should advertising professors teach the more complicated and important process of strategic media planning? Which strategic actions should be emphasized? For that matter, which shouldn't? In essence, how should advertising professors who teach media planning react to these changes to prepare their students for a media world gripped by change?

LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent years, the effect of these changes on media planning has received significant attention from academics. For example, scholars have examined media fragmentation (Lin, 1994); investigated the impact of integrated marketing on media planning (Lloyd, 1996; Katz and Lendrevie, 1996); explored ways of evaluating the effectiveness of Internet advertising (Hong and Leckenby, 1996; Hong and Leckenby, 1997; Lancaster and Michaels, 1997); and called into question the theory of effective frequency, suggesting that in its place new emphasis be put on both reach and recency (Cannon and Riordan, 1997; Ephron, 1997; John Philip Jones, 1997; and Tellis, 1997).

But little attention has been devoted, at least recently, to examining how these changes are affecting what professors teach in their media planning courses. More than ten years have passed since Lancaster and Martin (1988) replicated Jugenheimer's 1976 survey of media instructors to learn more about how the media planning course was being taught. During that time, so much has changed that this survey has more historical interest than present day adaptability. More up to date is the Martin and Lloyd (1992) survey of media teachers from 75 universities which investigated how computers were being used in media planning courses. The results indicated that just over half of the respondents were using a full-featured media planning software program and users reported that the software enabled them to spend significantly more time teaching ideas about media strategy and theory, and much less time teaching skill-oriented tasks. Phelps (1996) surveyed more than 300 media professionals who agreed that students needed more exposure to media buying and both Phelps (1996) and King and Morrison (1996), have described a number of buying exercises and software programs that can be incorporated into the media planning course.

Perhaps the question of how media professors should respond to the major shifts in the media marketplace received its most focused attention in a session chaired by University of Texas advertising professor Wei-Na Lee at the 1996 American Academy of

Advertising conference. A variety of recommendations were proposed. For instance, Barnes (1996) pointed to the need to teach students how to understand consumers in the marketing context. Callcott (1996) and Tucker (1996) recommended that students be taught how to view media in broader terms and to be creative in media planning. Tucker (1996) stressed the need for students to learn how to use and justify unmeasured media, suggesting ways to reconceptualize traditional evaluative measures. One of the most critical observations, however, came from Helen Katz (1996), Vice President-Media Research Manager of DDB Needham-Chicago, who identified a gulf between the way media is practiced and the way it is taught. She argued that to bridge the gap, media professors must view media more broadly than ever before, and give more attention to strategic thinking and marketing.

While various topics of the media course have received some attention in recent years, there has not been a detailed study of what educators should include in this increasingly important course to reflect the changes that are transforming the industry. Nor has there been any systematic attempt to get input on these important curricular issues from media planning professionals who are on the front lines of change every day. This study was designed to do precisely that.

The objective of this study then aims to identify the most critical subjects, concepts, issues and skills media professors need to cover in a media course to prepare students to enter this very different media world. This study will accomplish this objective by surveying a national sample of media directors, supervisors and planners working at agencies varying in size, billings and client rosters. As the literature review points out, a study that specifically asks top-level media professionals from across the country to identify and rank the essential topics that should be covered in media courses as a way of contending with the major changes in media, has not been done. This investigation hopes to fill that void. It also hopes to take a step toward bridging the gap that Katz says currently exists in how media planning is practiced in the professional world and how it is taught in college classrooms. By asking media professionals for their opinions and advice, this study will hopefully provide specific directions on how media classes might be modified to better equip students seeking to enter the media profession. And given the fact that these professionals are witnesses to some of the biggest transformations in the history of media, the value of their responses cannot be underestimated.

Based on this objective, the methodology section will now explain how this study was conducted.

METHODOLOGY

Sampling

The central focus of this research was to ask media planning experts for their advice on what professors should be teaching in today's media planning courses. Specifically, the research was designed to pinpoint and rank which media changes, strategies, and skills media directors and planners perceive as most important for students to master in their media planning courses. The point being that students who learn the subject matter these professionals recommend will have a better chance of a media planning career. After all, media directors and planners whose job has thrust them into the middle of all this upheaval, seemed exceptionally qualified to recommend what media planning courses should be covering in a chronically changing and more complicated media marketplace.

To achieve the study objectives, a national mail survey was conducted among media directors and media planners. A self-administered 4-page questionnaire was sent to a sample of 2,659 *Mediaweek* magazine subscribers having the title of Media Director, Associate Media Director, Assistant Media Director or Media Planner. The survey was completed in October and November 1998. The mail packet included a questionnaire of 30 items, including both closed- and open-ended questions; a one-page cover letter explaining the purpose and usefulness of the study; and a business-reply envelope. Fifty mail packets were returned as undeliverable, which brought the total sample size to 2,609.

Mediaweek magazine subscribers were chosen as the population for this study, because it was a time efficient and economical way to isolate a significant number of media planning professionals representing all ranks of the profession, years of employment, regions of the country, and agency sizes. *Mediaweek,* as its name implies, is a weekly magazine that "exclusively covers the media business" (SRDS Media Kit). This specialized business publication is edited for advertising media buyers and planners, as well as other media managers and executives.

Mediaweek's circulation department purged the subscription list, eliminating all subscribers who were not working in some aspect of media planning or buying. This refined subscription list was then turned over to the researchers. They refined the list further by excluding all professionals working in media buying. Next the list was analyzed and every subscriber with a title of media planner, assistant & associate media director and media director was chosen for this study's sample.

The reason why senior-level media planning professionals were picked for this research was threefold: First, the assumption was that these seasoned professionals would have numerous years in the business, allowing them to compare and contrast how advertising media planning used to be versus how it is now, let alone what it will become. Second, these media planning veterans presumably would have greater opportunity to hire college graduates. Therefore, they would be in a strong position to evaluate what strengths and weaknesses they see from newly-minted graduates. Third, these experienced media planners would have greater strategic decision-making authority at their respective advertising agencies, therefore, having more opportunity to experience the wide variety of change occurring in the media.

Administration

A mail survey was chosen as the most appropriate way to reach this busygroup of professionals. The researchers anticipated that this highly-sought-after group, which is aggressively pursued by media sales representatives daily, would be difficult to reach through a telephone survey. Previous research has shown that mail surveys work particularly well with this type of professional (Sheatsley,1983). Mail surveys proved to be an effective means to secure media planners input. From the sample, 666 completed questionnaires were returned, giving this survey a 26% response rate.

Questionnaire Design

Designing a meaningful questionnaire for this study proved formidable. Measuring the changes in the media is difficult enough; add to that, that this questionnaire would be sent to seasoned professionals who are savvy about the many shifts in the marketplace. The researchers took the following steps to develop the final questionnaire used for this study:

- Step #1: Conducted a pretest with three media professors by sending them a 41-item questionnaire. The instructors ranged in rank and seniority. All have significant professional experience and also are recognized as exceptional media teachers. The pre-test failed. The instructors written responses and de-briefing conversations with the researchers revealed that . . .

1.) the preliminary questionnaire's format was "respondent unfriendly;"
2.) the questions were somewhat "leading and self-evident;"
3.) and the tone was "too academic" for the professional group we were aiming to reach.

In general, these respected media educators felt that the preliminary questionnaire would not produce the kind of information media educators would find useful.

- Step #2: Conducted telephone interviews with six media directors employed at large, mid-sized and small advertising agencies located in the West, Midwest and East.

An interview schedule was written and used to interview all six participants. Interviews were transcribed, analyzed and coded. Major themes emerged from the data and helped guide the creation of a completely new questionnaire.

- Step #3: Developed a second questionnaire that was presented in an easier-to-use booklet format that included 11 fewer questions, more open-ended probes and a more user-friendly layout.

- Step #4: Conducted a second pre-test among media directors in Cincinnati, Ohio and Chicago, Illinois in September 1998. Participants were representative of our proposed sample. Participating media directors were sent questionnaires and completed them in their offices. A researcher had de-briefing conversations with participants asking them about the length, format, ordering and wording of the questionnaire. An item-by-item analysis was also conducted. Participants were also asked if they had any overall problem with the instrument or if they became uninterested by the questions. The pre-test was a success and the questionnaire required no revisions.

Methods Summary

Change is difficult to measure. The instrument that finally emerged from all of this revision, pre-testing and re-writing touched a nerve among these media professionals, as evidenced by some of the comments attached to the completed questionnaires. Here are just a few samples:

> **"Great questionnaire! I applaud your efforts. You obviously have a good feel for today's world of media. Good luck and let me know if I can be of help."**
>
> **"Any one of you professors out there. . . call me if you feel the need."**
>
> **"I have enclosed the completed survey and . . . I am pleased to know you are pursuing a course of research in media planning."**

The next section of the paper will review the findings produced by this questionnaire.

RESULTS

The questionnaire was organized into four major sections. These included the following:

1. Respondent's basic occupational information,
2. Changes in the business,
3. Media strategy,
4. Media skills and proficiencies.

The questionnaire began with three open-ended questions asking media professionals for basic occupational information (i.e. job title, years of experience and agency billings).

In the second section of the questionnaire, media professionals were asked to rank how important it is to teach students about audience fragmentation, alternative ways of evaluating media and creative media planning. Next, they were asked to identify the most important media changes for students to understand.

The third portion, Media Strategy, asked media professionals to identify the three most important media strategies for students to understand. They were also asked to rank other strategic planning topics, as well as rate how important it is for students to complete a computerized media buy and a "real world" media plan.

The last section of the questionnaire asked respondents to identify and also rank the skills students should be taught in media planning courses. The questionnaire concluded by asking media experts to answer this open-ended question: "If you could give college media professors just one piece of advice to improve their media planning courses, what would it be and why?"

Using the four sections of the questionnaire, the paper will now proceed to review the findings, beginning with the respondent's basic occupational information.

Section One: Respondent Information

The three descriptive open-ended questions found in section one of the questionnaire, helped researchers in two ways: to screen respondents and to secure a wide range of participants. For example, researchers wanted to ensure that respondents were indeed the most qualified to answer the survey – meaning that the respondents were actually working in positions where strategic decision-making happens. Also, researchers aimed to secure a wide range of respondents reflecting a variety of job titles, years of experience and agency sizes. Without this balanced representation, researchers believed that responses would become skewed.

This survey managed to secure media professionals from all ranks working at agencies of all sizes. Nearly half of those who answered this survey however, are some type of media director (45%). Twenty-seven percent are media directors and 18% are assistant media directors. Seventeen percent of those who completed the survey are media supervisors, with 24% working as media planners. The remaining 14% hold titles ranging from group media director to director of local/national broadcast, from assistant media supervisor to buyer. The majority of those who took time out to answer this questionnaire are opinion leaders, and as their job titles indicate, they come from all facets of the advertising media planning business.

Looking at the number of years these professionals have been working in advertising media, the majority of respondents are the real leaders of the business (Table 1).

Table 1
Number of Years in the Business

Age Category	Percent
19+ years	22%
15-18 years	12%
11-14 years	15%
7-10 years	21%
3-6	24%
Less than 3 years	6%
TOTAL	100%
n=666	

Almost half (49%) are media veterans, having logged 11 to 19 years in advertising media, with 22% having 19 or more years on the job, 12% with 15-18 years, 15% with 11-14 years. Twenty-one percent have been working in media for 7-10 years, with 24% having 3-6 years of experience. Only 6% have less than three years in the business, which is excellent, because this study did not want to reach this group. As previously outlined in the research objective, this survey sought to only include seasoned media professionals with strategic decision-making authority. These findings hopefully show that the bulk of respondents have sufficient experience in the industry to identify critical changes and provides sound advice. Yet, when respondents are clustered into age categories, the data shows that these seasoned professionals are fairly evenly dispersed as Table 1 indicates.

Finally, agency billings were categorized using American Association of Advertising Agency criteria.[1] As Table 2 points out, all billings levels are well represented, except for smaller agencies with billings of less than $10 million. This dispersion gives this study input from media employees working at agencies of all sizes. This means that a variety of groups' viewpoints are represented, and that one group influencing the overall findings has been avoided.

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[1] According to a personal conversation conducted by Dr. Carla V. Lloyd on December 1, 1998 with Mr. Tom Phelan, Vice President Management Service Division of the AAAA's, defining agency size according to billings is difficult because, as Phelan points out, "so much really depends on context and perspective." An unofficial benchmark Phelan offered to define agency size using billings is as follows: Small - less than $10mm; Medium - $10-$50mm; Large - $51-$300mm; Mega - $301mm-$1bb;

Table 2[2]
Agency Billings

Billings	Percent
< $10 million	6%
$10 - 50 million	22%
$51-149 million	18%
$150-300 million	17%
$301 - 1 billion	21%
$ 1 billion +	16%
TOTAL	100%
n=666	

Section Two: Changes in the Business

Two key findings emerged when coding the qualitative data that came from the six media directors' telephone interviews. These findings drove the entire development of section two of the final questionnaire. Therefore, it is important to briefly review these qualitative findings and some of the other important information these media directors shared during their interviews with researchers.

The first, and perhaps, the most significant finding to emerge was how important all of these media directors view media's transformation. In their opinion, the media

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Super - $1bb or more.

[2] Phelan's definition was applied to Table 2 with one exception and that was with the "large" definition. Taking Phelan's advice, "that size depends on context" these authors broke the "large" billings classification into two groups with the $51-149 million category standing for "large" agencies and the $150-300 million category representing "extra-large" agencies.

world is drastically changing. All told, to these experts, there is not only an immense amount of change in the business, but also in the way they now have to do business. The second finding to come out of the interviews focused on changes these media directors now see and the ones they envision for the future. The seven changes these experts identified as having a direct impact on media planning included:

1.) Audience fragmentation,
2.) The impact of branding on media planning,
3.) Media proliferation,
4.) Recency theory,
5.) Digitization of media,
6.) Intense competition,
7.) Rise of the Internet.

The real challenge nowadays, according to these experts, is to create media plans and evaluate media in new ways that are not simply driven by "the numbers."

This qualitative information was also used to design four questions that would measure which changes are perceived as most critical for students to understand. Teaching students about audience fragmentation was identified as important by an overwhelming 92% of survey respondents. Teaching students how to evaluate media in ways that are ***not just*** number-driven was identified as important by 91% of the professionals. Eighty-five percent claimed that it was more important for students to learn how to develop creative media plans rather than ones simply driven by the numbers. When given the seven changes listed above and then asked to identify ***the three*** most critical for students to study in the advertising media planning courses, professionals chose:

- **Audience fragmentation** -- This sweeping media change received over three-fourths of all the responses (78%).

- **The impact of branding on media planning** -- Over half (52%) of all the responses went to this important shift in the business.
- **The rise of the Internet** -- This new media platform is on the minds of half of these media professionals (50%).

Obviously, audience fragmentation is a critical issue to address in media planning classrooms. And while the Internet is surely being taught at some level by many media professors, bringing the branding discussion into the media classroom may be a change for some instructors.

Section Three: Developing Media Strategies

Developing media strategies that ultimately help achieve the marketing objectives is the mission of all media planning. And all media planning requires a toolbox of sorts that is made up of a comprehensive and critical understanding of strategic media decision-making; an ability to write media strategies, and a capacity to defend and evaluate media strategy for the brand given the present market situation. Guided once again by the qualitative data, nine questions were developed for the questionnaire.

Asked to pick the *three* most important media strategies that students should be taught out of a list that included: target audience, reach, frequency, geographic weighting, media selection, media scheduling and budgeting, professionals chose:

- **Target audience** -- This media strategy was ranked most important, receiving 85% of the responses.
- **Media selection** -- This strategy was nearly as important as target audience, receiving 80% of the responses.
- **Reach** -- The reach media strategy came in a distant third, receiving only 36% of the responses.

With the fragmentation of media audiences, it is no wonder that these professionals view target audience selection as critically important. Reaching today's audiences, who lead hectic lifestyles and are faced with more media choices than ever before, requires more thought from media planners. Media proliferation has obviously made choosing the media mix a more involved task. Reach coincides with the target audience, and as such, continues to demonstrate how much emphasis media instructors should place on defining and selecting the target audience strategy in their courses.

There is no formula for either defining or selecting target audiences. However, there are some tested ways to go about choosing whom to target. When teaching students about defining and selecting target audiences, these professionals still believe that demographics, audience's media usage and brand usage are the most important.

Table 3
Criteria for Defining & Selecting Target Audience

Criteria	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important
Demographics	68%	27%	5%
Media Usage	62%	31%	6%
Brand Usage	45%	40%	13%
Lifestyle Characteristics	32%	46%	20%
Psychographics	28%	30%	28%
"Day-in-the-life"	19%	27%	40%

Yet, as Table 3 points out, these professionals also believe that it is important for students to understand how to select target audiences based on audience members' lifestyles and psychological profiles. Media professors who are asking their students to develop "day-in-the life" analyses should obviously continue to do so.

Database marketing, media proliferation and media fragmentation emerged from the preliminary research as issues that would change how targeting is being taught in the classroom. Those answering the questionnaire, however, only believed that two of these changes --media proliferation and fragmentation-- should be part of today's media classes. Here is how they responded to the following statements:

> ***Database marketing has revolutionized what professors should be teaching about targeting***
>
> - 34% agreed with this statement on database marketing, 49% were neutral on the concept.
>
> ***Media proliferation has revolutionized what professors should be teaching about targeting.***
>
> - 65% agreed with the statement that media proliferation should be taught by media professors.
>
> ***Media fragmentation has revolutionized what professors should be teaching about targeting.***
>
> - 78% agreed with this statement, believing that media fragmentation should be part of the media planning course.

These findings suggest that professors need to address media proliferation and fragmentation in their discussions on defining and selecting target audiences. With nearly half of the professionals feeling neutral about database marketing, perhaps this topic should be introduced to students but not allowed to take time away from other more important topics.

There are so many more ways to reach today's consumers compared to just a few years ago. Technology is creating a very crowded media marketplace. How do media professors have time to cover all of the new growth occurring in the traditional media let alone find time to cover all of the new stuff? This question was put to the professionals. This would provide professors a clear indication of which types of media are most important to teach. Respondents were asked to quantify the importance of traditional media (including television, magazines, newspapers, etc.), untraditional media (including bus shelters, ticket-stub advertising, MaxRax, etc.), interactive media, Internet, and business-to-business media. The big news here is that almost all the professionals believe that it is very important for students to still understand traditional media (89%). But as Table 4 indicates, professors will also need to explain the elements of untraditional choices as well as interactive and especially Internet choices when teaching media mix strategies.

Table 4
Types of Media that are Important to Teach

Criteria	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important
Traditional Media	89%	11%	–
Untraditional Media	30%	38%	27%
Interactive Media	31%	40%	26%
Internet	42%	43%	13%
Business-to -Business	23%	34%	32%

The questionnaire then followed up on this close-ended question and asked professionals to identify any other media that students should understand that were not in the list above. The professionals jotted down 191 other types of persuasive communications, that when analyzed, can be broken into these categories:

Category	Number of Responses
1. Marketing Communications	103
2. Traditional Media	43
3. Outdoor Advertising	31
4. Other Media	14
TOTAL:	191

The specific types of media identified within each of these categories is quite revealing and gives media instructors even further insight into the kinds of media that should be covered in their classes. Direct marketing and direct response advertising was cited the most, logging in with 55 mentions (29%). Sales promotion was second, receiving 38 write-in responses (20%). Interestingly, outdoor advertising was viewed as the third most important medium that students should be taught how to incorporate into their media mix strategy, being named 31 times (16%). Table 5 provides the complete listing of the types of persuasive communications these professionals view as important in teaching media mix strategy:

Table 5
Other Types of Persuasive Communications

MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS

Direct Marketing --55 mentions
Direct Marketing/Direct Response (31)
Direct Mail (19)
Telemarketing (3)
Direct response TV (1)
List buying/selection (1)

Public Relations -- 4 mentions

Advertising---3 mentions
Specialty Advertising (1)
Guerrilla Advertising (2)

Promotion -- 38 mentions
Sports/event sponsorship (14)
Promotions (10)
Integrated programs/Tie-ins (4)
Added-value (3)
Cross-promotions (2)
In-store marketing (2)
FSI's (1)
Media Sponsorship (1)
Merchandising Programs (1)

Personal Comm's -- 2 mentions
Word-of mouth (1)
Grass root comm's (1)

TRADITIONAL MEDIA
Electronic

Radio -- 18 mentions
Radio (12)
Traffic report (2)
Network vs. spot (1)
PBS (1)
Sponsorship (1)
Spot (1)

Television -- 11 mentions
Cable (2)
Local cable (2)
Infomercial (2)
Digital TV (1)
Direct TV (1)
National vs. Spot (1)
PBS (1)
Satellite (1)

Other Types of Persuasive Communications Mentioned by Professionals (cont.)

Basic Foundations in Traditional Media --12 mentions
Media Basics--
(math, advantages/disadvantages, etc.) (8)
Research tools (1)
Local vs. national (1)
Local (1)
Using traditional media in unusual ways (1)

Outdoor -- 31 mentions
Out-of-home (16)
Place-based (4)
Billboards (3)
Spectaculars (1)
30-sheets (1)
In-theater (2)
Transit (2)
Mobile Media (1)
Point-of-Purchase (1)

Print -- 2 mentions
Consumer mag's (1)
Special interest (1)

Other Media -- 14
Ethnic Media (4)
International (4)
Unconventional (4)
Push Media (1)
Emerging Technologies (1)

Finally, the media strategy section of the questionnaire asked pointed questions about other media strategy considerations, namely: marketing communication tools, recency theory, the use of computer buying programs and the development of a media plan as classroom outcomes. Here is how these professionals ranked the marketing communications topics:

- 87% of the professionals strongly agree that students need to have a clear understanding of how the media plan fits within the rest of the brand's marketing communications program.
- 68% of the professionals see direct marketing as an important marketing communications tool to teach student in the media planning class.
- 55% of the professionals view sales promotion as an important marketing communications tool to teach students in the media planning class.

- 36% of the professionals believe that public relations is an important marketing communications tool to teach students enrolled in media planning.
- 34% of professionals feel that personal selling is an important marketing communications tool to teach in the media planning course.

Over two-thirds of all the professionals felt that direct marketing is an important tool for students to understand. This suggests that media professors should incorporate direct marketing discussions into their media planning syllabus. With over half of the professionals viewing sales promotion as an important marketing communications tool, this topic too, should make its way onto the course outline. Public relations and personal selling should be discussed as time allows.

Recency theory has challenged the long-held notion of effective frequency. Recency theory is a relative newcomer to media planning circles, having only been introduced by media scholars and consultants John Philip Jones and Erwin Ephron, just four years ago. Given its newness, recency theory still captured widespread support from these professionals, with nearly 58% agreeing that professors should spend time reviewing recency theory with their students. Professors should make sure this new concept is discussed along side frequency when introducing students to scheduling and media buying. However, nine professionals provided additional input on this topic via an open-ended question, cautioning that recency theory is only one point of view and cannot be applied to all situations. So, students should learn about this theory, but not in isolation or at the expense of other strategies.

In terms of course outcomes, more than three-fourths of professionals (78%) strongly agree that students should be required to develop a "real world" media plan as part of their course work. In contrast, only 44% strongly agreed that students should complete an actual media buy using a computer software program. However, there was no real consensus on the importance of students presenting media plans in class.

Thirty-one percent indicated it was important for the student to present a media plan in class, 34% indicated it wasn't important and 35% had no opinion. The findings provide some guidance to professors as they look at what to include within the course in terms of outcomes. This discussion also leads into the final section of the questionnaire, which deals with skills and proficiencies.

Section Four: Media Skills & Proficiencies

While media math formulas and skills have long been associated with teaching media planning, the introduction of computers in the classroom has led many professors to eliminate or reduce the amount of focus on these skills. From the preliminary research, professionals expressed concern that many recent college graduates, working in entry-level jobs, had little background or knowledge in understanding the concepts behind the media math. Furthermore, professionals were adamant that students needed to be more proficient in using and understanding syndicated research. These subjects, along with questions regarding various computer skills, presentation skills and internships comprised the final 13 questions of the survey.

Nearly all of the professionals (92%) believe it is important for students to be competent in interpreting syndicated research. Sixty percent of these professionals indicated competence in this area is very important. Table 6 highlights how professionals rank ordered the list of syndicated research sources.

Table 6
Rank Ordering of Syndicated Data

Syndicated Research	Percent
1. MRI	62%
2. Nielsen	45%
3. SMRB	32%
4. Arbitron	21%
4. LNA	21%
6. SRDS	18%

MRI, research that identifies demographics, media usage and brand consumption, is ranked the most important syndicated data to teach students. This directly coincides with professionals' answers to previous questions regarding the importance of using demographics in defining and selecting target audiences.

In addition to the rank-order question, an open-ended question was asked to in order to give professionals an opportunity to identify other types of syndicated data that should be taught. This yielded 236 responses. The most frequent suggestions made by these professionals are provided with a brief description of the service.

- Scarborough - single source media, consumer and demographic syndicated surveys in the top 50 local markets. Primary emphasis is on newspaper readership (Katz, 1995).
- Monroe-Mendelsohn - marketing and media research on the affluent consumer (Katz, 1995).
- Yankelovich Partners - marketing research and public opinion company.
- Claritas' PRIZM and Strategic Mapping's Cluster PLUS - marketing and demographic information based on geodemographic analysis (Katz, 1995).
- Telmar -spot radio database resource for planning.
- SQAD - Spot Quotations and Data - provides spot TV and radio planning information.
- J. D. Power - Survey research company specializing in automotive and travel industries (Katz, 1995).
- Competitive Media Reporting - a joint venture of Leading National Advertisers and Arbitron, providing competitive media expenditures (Katz, 1995).

These are sources that professors may want to make students familiar with. However, many of these services are out of the financial reach for the majority of advertising programs. Perhaps what could be developed between the industry and the schools is an opportunity to gain access to this type of syndicated research via a donation program or a central clearing-house.

In addition to being competent in using syndicated research, the professionals also indicated that students needed to understand the difference between syndicated sources and other research venues. In the questionnaire, only 42% of the respondents thought familiarity with on-line secondary research sources was important. Forty-two percent were neutral on the subject. But within the open-ended question, the professionals did provide suggestions that would be helpful in the classroom. These suggestions were not just related to specific sources, but to research in general. One professional stated it is "very important to have a good understanding of research - how it's done, what it means." Another suggested "Research techniques are more important than specific sources." But many other media professionals took it a step further and requested that students be taught basic library skills. The strongest response was a directive: "Go to the library. I'm serious - some advertising students have never been to the library." If students are not getting this type of research education from other courses, certainly media planning professors need to incorporate secondary research investigation skills and interpretation in the discussion of syndicated research.

These professionals want professors to teach media math skills and concepts. Seventy percent responded that this was very important in addition to 26% responding that it was important. And, in terms of what concepts they deemed important, Table 7 paints the picture. While basic math skills were identified as being very important, the professionals stressed that students also need to know how to calculate these formulas by hand (73%) and not to depend on a computer program. Ninety percent agreed that teaching a computer buying program does not alleviate teaching basic media math skills. Building on this foundation, the professionals believe it is very important (85%) for the students to understand the meaning behind these numbers and be capable of relating them to the media strategy.

Table 7
Media Math Ranking

Concepts	Very Important
Basic Math	88%
Percentages	85%
Index Numbers	78%
CPM/CPP	78%
GRP	77%
Reach	72%
Frequency	72%
Effective Reach	54%
Effective Frequency	53%
Huts/Shares/Ratings	50%
BDI/CDI	43%

An open-ended question followed these rankings, allowing the respondents a chance to list other media concepts and math skills they believed should be taught in the classroom. The consensus of the qualitative answers indicated that the basic competencies for students were the first seven items listed above. From that point, the following concepts were identified as being important as well.

- gross/net
- composition/coverage
- weighting
- quintile analysis
- hits vs. clicks (Internet measurement)

In dealing with other questions regarding computer proficiencies, media professionals did not agree that it is essential for students to learn media-buying computer programs. Only 5% strongly agreed with the need for this type of computer literacy; 43% were neutral on the topic and 37% disagreed that this type of computer training was necessary. However, 76% indicated that students should be very familiar with computer software such as Excel, and 72% requested that students be familiar with PowerPoint software programs.

Some of the professionals felt so impassioned about this topic, they added comments without being asked. Several professionals related that each agency has a different buying system, so training on a classroom version was unnecessary. However, the most mentioned concern was forcing the student to know the skills without relying on the computer. This comment, "Computers don't make media buys, people do," puts the burden on the student to do the calculations by hand, while charging professors to shift some of this focus from computers to the students. One respondent referred to "black box mistakes" in allowing students to depend too much on the computer. Other statements focused on the unreliability of the computer - what happens when the computers go down; the clients needs go on. The following statement sums up the discussion: "It's very important for students to know how to calculate media formulas by hand. Learning only on a computer is like learning math using a solar calculator. There are always power failures."

Finally, the majority (89%) of the media professionals indicated that it was at least somewhat important for students to have completed an internship in a media position. But the importance level was mixed, 32% said it was very important, 32% said it was important, and 26% were neutral. This may be a factor of the agency's size. Larger agencies with training programs might not be so concerned that students have "hands-on" experience as long as they know the numbers and can think strategically. Smaller agencies might require entry-level hires to take charge immediately and do not have the time or staff for on-the-job training. Internships would be of value in this instance particularly.

DISCUSSION

Those who teach media planning courses know the challenge. Students are put off by the numbers and the arithmetic. Instructors are expected to cover a daunting amount of material in one term. The volume of this material, as this study has shown, has grown exponentially as the marketplace has undergone massive change. On top of this, media teachers are supposed to develop a host of skills among their students that include professional writing, oral presentations, and computer competency in Excel & PowerPoint. Students should leave the class as sophisticated strategic thinkers who can crank out a professionally sound plan in just 10 to 16 weeks. That is the task media professors face.

The purpose of this study was to tap into the minds of experts who routinely interview graduates of media planning classes and are on the front lines of all of this change. The goal was really to pick these experts' brains to find ways to streamline our media planning courses, add new subjects, adopt new techniques in favor of old ones, and in the end, develop better media planning courses that will give our students the competitive edge of landing those coveted entry-level jobs in media planning. By taking the topic of change and the media planning class to media professionals, this research found the following:

1. Seasoned media planning professionals were anxious to and generous about giving their advice on how to go about improving the media planning class.

The quantity and quality of responses that were generated by this survey were unexpected. The researchers went into this study knowing how difficult it would be to reach this group of professionals who are pursued by clients, employees, and a host of media sales representatives.

The questionnaire struck a nerve with these experts, with many of them taking the additional step to compose letters and memos. Question 30 asked media professionals to jot down their responses to the question: "If you could give college media professors just one piece of advice to improve their media planning courses what would it be and why?" This question produced 50 single-spaced pages of written responses and will become the basis of another study. There was just too much data generated to attach to this research effort. It seemed as if these professionals were pleased that the academy was asking for their advice and recommendations.

2. Seasoned media planning professionals are receptive to a research instrument that has been crafted with the input from other media professionals.

Although this finding is not directly related to the main research objective, it is a research-design discovery that could be helpful to others who might want to survey advertising professionals. There is so much change occurring in the business that designing a questionnaire that reflects what professionals are thinking about is difficult. This study shows that an intermediate qualitative research step might be beneficial to developing this kind of questionnaire. In this case, conducting telephone interviews with a small representative sample from this group of media directors helped in the construction of a questionnaire that reflected the reality these media planners and directors are contending with.

3. Seasoned media planning professionals recommend that media planning courses focus less on the mechanics of media and more on teaching students how to think conceptually, critically and creatively so students can adapt to change.

The media world has grown much more complicated and complex. The professionals interviewed for this study believe that students' thinking should be elevated in ways to deal with this evolving and more involved marketplace.

Teaching students the mechanics of media planning isn't enough. The overall goal of media courses should be to "Train students how to think, not what to think," says one respondent. Critical, conceptual and creative thinking is vital to students' professional success. This kind of thinking, "will allow students to be open to suggestions and continuous changes -- and how to formulate opinions on each," says one respondent.

The media course should stress concepts. "Media is not numbers; it's concepts," remarks one respondent. "Focus on the communication - writing, presenting - of the concepts. On the job, I can teach the tools of media in a week. I can't teach entry-level people how to think for a lifetime."

In an era of change, media planning classes should avoid putting their full emphasis on the "grunt work" of media planning and focus more on teaching students how to see the overall workings of marketing communications and their role in developing the brand. "It is important to impress that these functions are 100% common sense and not difficult media math," says one media professional. "Additionally, this is not grunt work we're thinking 'big picture' and applying this to the overall business and advertising concepts for the brand."

Media classes should push students to also think creatively. "Teach creativity and emphasize consideration of media as only one part of marketing as a whole," advises another professional.

4. Seasoned media planning professionals view audience fragmentation and clutter as the most pressing changes driving their business. As such students should be taught how to contend with these changes in order to help build the brand.

Mass audience media have been replaced by niche media and the professionals interviewed for this study are adapting to this major shift. Trying to reach these splintered groups in the midst of unprecedented clutter has become a challenge for all media planners. They want media professors to challenge their students in the same way. "Teach students the history of audience media consumption," recommends one professional. It's also important to put fragmentation into a context. "Fragmentation should be underscored and students should be told where we've been and where we're going," says this same professional.

Once professors have grounded students in the basics, they should then encourage their students to use some of the new, niche media as this professional highlights: "Teach them the basics, but give them room to be creative in their planning, especially with the new forms of media that are becoming so important (e.g. out of home)." Graduates who can approach media in fresh ways and defend these approaches are well equipped to go out into the changing marketplace. "The media landscape is constantly evolving. Clients are interested in media professionals who are on top of the curve, seeking new opportunities as well as new ways to utilize existing ones," observes one respondent.

5. Seasoned media planning professionals recommend that media planning courses put more emphasis on strategic thinking that purposely forces students to "think out of the box". In other words, teach students how to create media plans that are not merely driven by the numbers.

A decade-and-a-half of change has created a different sort of media planning that, according to these experts, demands that students think less traditionally in order to develop media plans that are more than numbers-driven. One media professional describes how things have changed: "Media is no longer the number-crunching, 'behind-the-scenes' science it once was." And because of this transformation, "It is now very important to understand the marketing strategy and creative concepts to successfully come up with an integrated plan," adds this expert. In her view, "Integration is a key word that is changing the media landscape as we know it." In teaching the numerical component of the media course, instructors need to "make sure students understand that media planning involves more than 'numbers.' It involves creative thinking to determine what media mix most effectively suits an individual client's needs," states a professional. Students need to be encouraged to be creative in the media class, because numbers are only telling half of the strategic story nowadays.

In other words, numbers have to be put into a context and should not reign over the media class. This role should be assigned to media planning, as this professional suggests: "Help students see media planning as key. The media plan is a very important part of the advertising and marketing plan. While it is very scientific, there is an art to it as well. You can't just crunch numbers."

6. Seasoned media planning professionals strongly recommend that professors spend considerable time teaching how to select and defend their target audiences using demographic, media and brand usage data.

Professionals think it is very important for media courses to teach students how to think strategically about the target audience. "Spend time on target audience -- it's the key to a successful media plan in my opinion," says one media professional. This study also shows that when teaching students about target audience selection, professors should cover media and brand usage. "Teach how a brand's target interacts with all media. Teach how to understand media habits and how those habits can be best taken advantage of. Think, Think, Think," chants one executive.

Students should be taught how to really understand the consumer. According to this professional, students need to be able to find "the media that best reach consumers, within the competitive environment and what it will take to differentiate and gain a competitive edge."

7. Seasoned media planning professionals want students to be fluent in using Excel and PowerPoint software, but do not believe that media buying software is essential.

There are two important computer skills that these professionals view as important to media planning: Excel and PowerPoint. One professional gives media teachers this hint: "Make them do many Excel spreadsheets, somehow I got through college without doing a lot of spreadsheets and that's 75% of my job." PowerPoint is the industry standard in terms of making media plan presentations. Students need to know how to use this software. Less time needs to be devoted to teaching students how to buy media via computer software, however. The main reason professionals do not see this type of training as a priority is because agencies have different software programs; students should do their buy by hand because it teaches them the concept behind the numbers;

and this type of training happens on the job. One professional explains: "Many agencies have different software programs. New hires will be required to learn the programs on the job. And, therefore, it is less important to learn in school." Doing a media buy by hand also has some important learning advantages as this media professional points out: "Students should learn the mechanics of media buys by hand (i.e. adjusting numbers, determining ratings, etc.). Students must know how to calculate formulas by hand and they must understand the meaning behind the numbers."

8. Seasoned media planning professionals want to see all media planning students graduate with strong numerical skills which means students have mastered computation, the use and application of syndicated audience research data, and important media math concepts.

Analytic ability is as important as ever to media planning. Students need to be taught how the numbers can be used to find creative solutions, strengthen their decision-making, and to make their recommendations accountable. The professionals who took part in this study want to hire graduates who have mastered computation, the use and application of syndicated audience research data and the important media math concepts. Basic math is crucial for entry-level media planners, as this expert states, "If nothing else, make sure students understand and can apply basic math. If they can't, they're doomed!" Media professors, according to this expert, need to "make sure students who want a media job have a command of 'high school' math skills." Surprisingly, this media professional, as many others who commented on the survey, says this type of proficiency is in short supply: "Only half the assistant planners I work with have high school math skills." It's important to push students beyond the calculations to a more complete understanding of key media concepts, as this respondent advises: "Make sure the students really understand the math and basic definitions so they really know what they are talking about."

9. Seasoned media planning professionals recommend that students should write a media plan in media planning courses.

Students should be required to write a media plan in their media planning courses. This not only teaches them the process of strategic planning, but it also forces them to hone their business writing skills. "Students must learn real-world, current planning techniques and be given an assignment to put together a plan start to finish to see how all parts fit together," recommends one professional.

Strong writing skills are essential for a career in media planning, as this professional states: "Media planning students should be able and should be responsible for writing and presenting a plan. Presentation tools such as charts that are clearly organized, etc. should also be taught. Strong writing skills are also necessary."

Professionals are seeing fewer job candidates who can write well. "Writing without spelling and grammar errors is more of a problem from the first day of internship or hire," observes one professional. And according to these professionals, media people have to communicate well. Students have to be taught that good writing makes any media plan better. "Even the most traditional media solution can sound creative if well written," says one respondent.

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to identify the major marketplace changes affecting the media planning course. It also tried to give some guidance on how the media class might be taught given these changes. Professionals who have long track-records in media planning were tapped for their opinions, recommendations and advice. After all, they are the ones devising media plans in the midst of these changes. The goal of media planning courses should be to teach students how to develop strong media strategies. Creating strategies, as hopefully this study points out, has become more complex as the marketplace has become more complicated. Aspiring media professionals sitting in today's media planning courses have to be taught to see the full scope of this changing marketplace and, as one of the respondents said, "To write a truly great media plan, media professionals must understand the bigger marketing picture. If a media person understands advertising, marketing, he or she will go from becoming a good media professional to a great one."

But with so much more that needs to be crammed into a media class, educators run the risk of overwhelming their students and turning what should be now a creative experience into one that is too demanding. This has its drawbacks, too. "Many students I talk to are turned away from media because the planning class is so difficult to understand. Make the classes more 'real world' so that they understand what a planner does on a daily basis," said one professional.

The professionals want instructors to demand excellence, reminding us that advertising is nothing if not competitive. "Make sure students really understand what the job is all about," one professional said. "It's advertising, but it's not 'Melrose Place' glamorous, and it's not for everyone."

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Ethics for Editors:
What 11 Editing Textbooks Teach

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Abstract

Newspaper copy editors have a vital, though often unheralded, role to play in the production of ethical journalism. As the last people to see newspaper stories before publication, they have the opportunity to raise questions that can save newspapers from unnecessarily harming readers or sources or hurting their own credibility. Copy editors can do this, however, only if they develop a good sense of how ethical principles apply to their jobs. It seems logical to expect the editing textbook to be one source for such information. This study shows, however, that the amount of ethics-related material in eleven editing textbooks published since 1990 varies greatly. The texts provide little information on ethical decision-making, and they tend to use senior editors, not copy editors, in their case studies and examples.

Introduction

Copy editors have long been acknowledged to be newspapers' last line of defense against errors of fact, spelling, grammar, and style. Copy editors also make value-based decisions. As they read, good copy editors at least subconsciously ask themselves: Is this story fair? Is it balanced? Does it harm anyone unnecessarily? Implicit in copy editors' work, according to William L. Rivers and Cleve Mathews, is "an ethical standard based on four major responsibilities: checking accuracy, condensing stories, writing accurate headlines, and remaining sensitive to the impact of stories. . . . News sense goes into play here, but so does a moral sense of balance and fairness."[1]

How well does journalism education prepare future copy editors to meet that ethical standard? It teaches editing students to check information, to condense stories effectively, and to write accurate headlines. But is enough thought given to helping students in editing classes develop "a moral sense of balance and fairness"? Certainly some journalism school graduates who take copy desk jobs will be able to apply broad principles learned in media ethics courses to their work. But expecting media ethics courses to be the sole journalism school guide for copy editors' moral judgments is not realistic for three reasons. First, not every journalism and mass communication program offers a media ethics course. Second, fewer than half the programs that do offer such a course require students to take it.[2] Third, even students who take a media ethics course may learn little about the specific types of ethical decisions copy editors face. Professors teaching media ethics courses may focus mostly on ethical decision-making by reporters or senior editors, just as most books on journalism ethics do,[3] because those journalists traditionally are more visible in the newsroom and popular culture than copy editors.

So where do future copy editors learn what part they can play in upholding standards of ethical journalism? It seems logical to expect editing courses to impart this knowledge. It also seems logical to suppose that, in the courses that use them, commercial editing textbooks help students form their impressions of copy editors' role in producing ethical journalism. How extensively and how well do editing textbooks cover ethics? When they offer examples or case studies, do those feature copy editors? Or do discussions of ethical decision-making consider only dilemmas that copy editors rarely — if ever — face, such as whether to accept gifts from sources? These are crucial pedagogical questions. As Christopher Meyers has suggested, to learn how to make ethical decisions, "students must feel themselves in the role of decision-maker. Without this sense of personal involvement . . . students likely will not incorporate what they have learned into their understanding of themselves and their profession."[4]

This paper examines how much information on ethics is contained in eleven editing textbooks published since 1990 and considers what messages that information sends to students. It begins with a literature review that puts journalism ethics education into context, then looks at the handful of studies that have been done on the ethics content of mass communication texts. Next, the paper considers the importance of the topic, outlines research questions, and explains the methodology used. Finally, the paper reports findings and makes recommendations.

Literature review

Putting journalism ethics education into context

The teaching of ethics and moral philosophy blossomed in U.S. higher education during the 1800s as universities attempted to deal with questions posed by the collision of scientific advancements and traditional religious beliefs. Graduating seniors usually were required to take a capstone ethics course, which Douglas Sloan suggests was an important tool for developing American moral consensus.[5] This model eventually was abandoned, however, as the subject matter of university courses became more specialized and professors realized that "the hope that moral philosophy might somehow unite the disparate disciplines . . . could not be fulfilled."[6]

Ethics developed into a specialized field, often isolated in religion and philosophy departments. However, some disciplines, including journalism, made it part of their coursework. By 1924, L. N. Flint was able to write in *The Journalism Bulletin* of "a teacher of journalism who has had a class in ethics for a decade."[7] It took about 70 more years, however, for the media ethics course to become a standard part of the journalism school curriculum. As late as 1977, only 28 percent of 237 U.S. journalism and mass communication programs responding to a survey reported offering a free-standing ethics course.[8] By the early 1990s, however, the separate media ethics course was the norm: 61 percent of the 260 journalism and mass communication programs that responded to a follow-up survey offered a media ethics course.[9] This change mirrored an increase in interest in free-standing ethics courses in other disciplines. A 1994 baseline survey of communication studies departments found that 29 percent of the 207 respondents offered at least one free-standing ethics course and 10 percent planned to offer one within a year or two.[10] By 1999, one author could write, "It seems lately to have become almost *de rigueur* for programmes [sic] of professional training — in such areas as medicine, nursing, business studies and education — to include some sort of formal introduction to ethical inquiry."[11]

As free-standing ethics courses were established across the academy, interest in incorporating ethics into existing courses also grew. Authors in fields as different as biology,[12] accounting,[13] and engineering[14] have written of efforts to incorporate ethics into existing coursework, and at least two recent books have considered integration of ethics across the university curriculum.[15] The phenomenon has extended to mass communication departments as well. Researchers have written about incorporating ethics into media law classes,[16] beginning media writing classes[17] and public relations[18] and advertising courses.[19]

Studies of ethics in mass communication textbooks

Only a few scholars, however, have considered the amount and quality of ethics information in mass communication textbooks. Two recent studies examined ethics-related information in journalism texts, and three considered ethics in public relations or advertising textbooks. No published study that could be found has looked at information on ethics in editing textbooks.

Jane S. McConnell examined twelve newswriting and journalistic principles texts written before 1942 and found that social responsibility was a common idea long before it was stated in *A Free and Responsible Press*, the 1947 report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, which is usually given credit for popularizing the concept.[20] McConnell also provided evidence of the evolution of the idea of ethical journalism. The earliest textbooks, she noted, focused on practical skills rather than journalism's role in society and emphasized success instead of responsibility. By the 1920s, textbooks began to define the press as an institution responsible to the public, an idea texts had fully embraced by the 1940s.

Joseph A. Mirando, who analyzed the ethics lessons taught by 309 reporting texts published between 1867 and 1997,[21] found that some of the earliest textbooks endorsed such practices as taking small gifts from sources, making up missing details, flattering sources with complimentary articles, and rewriting stories that had appeared in other publications. These books also tended to frame loyalty to the publisher as a reporter's highest calling.[22] Contemporary reporting textbooks do a much better job of teaching ethics lessons but still share some shortcomings, Mirando found. They tend to place information on ethics in a single chapter near appendices and "other materials considered appropriate only with time permitting,"[23] and they make little attempt at "developing an overall framework or systematic decision-making process to govern basic lessons."[24]

Similar concerns have been raised about ethics instruction in public relations and advertising textbooks. For a 1989 article, Thomas H. Bivins compared the ethics discussions in six introductory public relations textbooks published from 1983 through 1987. He found that each devoted a chapter to ethics or ethics-related issues, most often professionalism, though only half used the term "ethics" in a chapter heading. Half the texts "went beyond the strictly pragmatic, prescriptive approach and began to delve into the theoretical roots of public relations ethics,"[25] but only one, Bivins wrote, succeeded in presenting "a combined conceptual/applied approach."[26]

Following Bivins' model closely, Joseph Plumley and Yolanda Ferragina examined eight advertising textbooks published from 1980 through 1989 and found them "woefully inadequate in the treatment of ethics within the framework of traditional ethical theory."[27] Several of the books, they said, proposed "a type of personal ethical relativism"[28] as the basis for decision-making. Three approached ethical discussion by citing frequent criticisms of advertising and attempting to refute them, a tactic Plumley and Ferragina decried: "Rebuttals to the criticisms are not based on ethical premises or logic, but only a type of convenient dogmatism or popular retort which could best dismiss the attack. The result of this technique is that students are left without ethical focus."[29]

Stanley Harrison reached a similar conclusion after examining six introductory and seven advanced public relations textbooks published from 1984 through 1990.[30] Discussion of ethics was absent from three of the advanced texts, and in three of the introductory texts, it was relegated to "sporadic" mention, "the shortest chapter in the text," or the last chapter, where "one suspects that in the rush to complete a multitude of topics, the hard-pressed instructor might neglect to include [it]."[31] In the introductory textbook that Harrison identified as most popular among 134 department heads and instructors he surveyed, "ethics is mentioned in passing."[32]

In summary, three points can be made. First, the percentage of schools offering free-standing media ethics courses has increased dramatically. Second, the establishment of free-standing media ethics courses has sparked interest in incorporating ethics instruction into existing courses. Third, the studies that have been made of ethics information in mass communication textbooks nevertheless have found the texts lacking.

Justification and research questions

A systematic study of the quantity and quality of ethics coverage in editing texts is valuable for several reasons. First, although textbooks generally receive little published scrutiny, they are important learning resources. A survey of 1,170 students conducted by Donna Besser, Gerald Stone, and Luan Nan found students form strong impressions of their textbooks.[33] Eighty percent of students who answered an open-ended question about the value of textbooks could recall a helpful aspect of a text, and 34 percent recalled more than one; 80 percent mentioned an unhelpful aspect and 17 percent more than one.[34]

Second, some editing instructors may lack the time or training needed to give students information on ethics if it is not supplied by a textbook. Although veteran editing teachers often supplement commercial texts with other material or even create their own course packs, editing is taught at some colleges and universities by beginning teachers, adjunct instructors, or graduate students. These instructors, who may also be busy acclimating themselves to the academy, working at newspaper jobs, or taking classes, are apt to rely heavily on the content of a textbook.

Third, copy editors play a vital though often unheralded role as the final guardians of ethical journalism.[35] It was a copy editor who alerted *Houston Chronicle* editors to the risk of stereotyping in an about-to-be-published 1994 special section on juvenile justice that pictured only minority youths. Pressed by deadlines, managers ignored her. After the section was published, they faced criticism from minority staff members and had to convene meetings "to calm growing newsroom unrest."[36] It was a copy editor who raised questions "about the level of truth" in 1995 *Boston Globe* columns by Patricia Smith, who resigned in 1998 after admitting she had fabricated information.[37] And it was *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* copy editor Anita Harkins who objected to a 1996 column that drew parallels between convicted child murderer Wayne Williams and security guard Richard Jewell, whom the FBI identified as a suspect, then cleared, in the 1996 bombing of Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park. According to Harkins, her objections and those of another copy editor were dismissed by a senior editor.[38] That ethical consideration turned into a legal consideration for the newspaper after Jewell filed a libel suit.

Those copy editors knew enough about ethics to spot problems and bring them to the attention of senior editors, who could have listened, acted, and helped their newspapers avoid serious problems. However, editing students who do not get a good sense from their textbooks of copy editors' responsibilities in producing ethical journalism may not be prepared to raise such important questions when they reach the newsroom. To determine how well eleven editing texts prepare students to uphold ethical standards on the copy desk, this study used simple quantitative measurements and qualitative content analysis to answer four research questions:

1. How much space do editing textbooks devote to ethics?
2. What are the ethics lessons taught by editing textbooks?

3. Are the lessons relevant to copy editing? Do case studies and examples presented involve copy editors?

4. Do the texts provide guidelines for ethical decision-making or a theoretical basis for ethical behavior?

Method and limitations

This study examined the most recent editions of eleven editing textbooks published since 1990:

1. Floyd K. Baskette, Jack Z. Sissors, and Brian S. Brooks, *The Art of Editing 6th ed.* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1997).
2. R. Thomas Berner, *The Process of Editing* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1991).
3. Dorothy A. Bowles and Diane L. Borden, *Creative Editing 3rd ed.* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 1999).
4. Anthony R. Fellow and Thomas N. Clanin, *The Copy Editors' Handbook for Newspapers* (Englewood, Colo.: Morton Publishing Co., 1998).
5. Cecilia Friend, Don Challenger, and Katherine C. McAdams, *Contemporary Editing* (Lincolnwood, Ill.: NTC Contemporary Publishing Group, 2000).
6. Daryl L. Frazell and George Tuck, *Principles of Editing: A Comprehensive Guide for Students and Journalists* (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1996).
7. Gene Gilmore, *Modern Newspaper Editing 4th ed.* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1990).
8. Jane T. Harrigan, *The Editorial Eye* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).
9. Thom Lieb, *Editing for Clear Communication* (Madison, Wis.: Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1996).
10. Ron F. Smith and Loraine M. O'Connell, *Editing Today* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1996).
11. James G. Stovall, Charles Self, and Edward Mullins, *On-line Editing, rev. ed.* (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 1994).

The texts were selected if they were reviewed in *Journalism Educator* or *Newspaper Research Journal*; reviewed in or listed as "new and notable" in *Journalism & Mass Communications Quarterly*; or available under the Library of Congress subject title "copy reading"[39] in the WorldCat electronic library database.[40]

A simple quantitative analysis was used to determine how much space each text gave to ethics and ethics-related concepts. Space devoted to ethics was measured in two ways:

1. First, the number of pages in any chapter or sub-section with a title containing the word "ethics" or its cognates was noted, and that number was converted into a percentage of total pages in the text (minus index, acknowledgements, and blank pages). This measurement was designed to take into account the textbook author's definition of ethics by considering as ethics-related any material that appeared in the "ethics" section. In this measurement, no attempt was made to determine whether some parts of the ethics chapters or sub-sections included material this paper would define as unrelated to ethics.

2. Next, the content of the textbook was examined closely to determine how many pages or partial pages from any section dealt with ethics or ethics-related concepts, as defined below. That number was expressed as a percentage of the total number of pages in the book (minus index, acknowledgements, and blank pages) to show how much ethics-related content appeared in the entire text. This measurement was designed to do two things: counteract bias in the first measure against authors who gave their ethics sections creative titles that did not include "ethics" or its cognates, and take note of the fact that several ethics chapters contained multiple pages devoted to law or even grammar exercises. Because the content of such pages did not fit the definition of being ethics-related outlined below, they were not included in this measure.

The study used a working definition of ethics based largely on the Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics[41] but supported by the work of scholars of media ethics.[42] Material related to truth-telling; fairness; minimizing harm to sources, readers, and others; acting independently; and being accountable was considered to be ethics-related. Some of the information coded as ethics-related under those categories is considered such an integral part of good copy editing that most copy editors and many editing instructors may not see it as related to ethics. However, because it is based on the ethical principles named above, it was considered to be ethics-related. For example, discussions of the importance of not convicting in print suspects who have only been charged with crimes were counted as discussions of ethics because they are based upon the principle of fairness, a component of this study's definition of journalism ethics. Discussions of the need to talk with reporters about major changes in stories were considered to be ethics-related because they ask editors to be accountable to writers. Discussions of avoiding stereotypes were considered to be ethics-related because they are based on the principles of fairness and truth-telling.

Care was taken, however, to maintain the subtle distinction between truth-telling, an ethical principle, and accuracy, the quality of being factually correct. Accuracy can occur as the result of a devotion to truth-telling or merely because a journalist follows industry conventions without much thought. It can even occur occasionally by chance. All the texts examined emphasized accuracy, but some devoted more space than others to truth-telling. Because the purpose of this study was to note the differences among editing texts and because it seems logical that explaining truth-telling offers students a more solid reason for practicing honest journalism than merely commanding them to "catch all errors,"[43] this study considered as ethics-related only those discussions of accuracy that included substantial discussion of truth-telling.

Once the quantitative measures were complete, the content of information determined to be ethics-related was analyzed to determine what lessons it taught, whether those lessons and the examples and case studies used were relevant to copy editing, and whether the material provided a theoretical basis for ethical behavior.

Several limitations of the study must be noted. The quantitative analysis is offered as only a general guide to the texts, for two reasons. First, one author may discuss ethics more profoundly in five pages than another can in twenty. Second, the most thorough authors may have been disadvantaged. For example, a 300-page editing text that devoted 30 pages to ethics and covered grammar, style, and headline writing would rate higher in percentage of text devoted to ethics than would a 600-page book that provided 30 pages on ethics and covered not only grammar, style, and headline writing, but also photo editing and page design. Similarly, the measurement may have disadvantaged authors who placed exercises in the text rather than in a separate workbook.[44]

In addition, this study is subject to the general limitations of qualitative analysis. Determining what constituted ethics-related content was, of course, a subjective judgment, and there is room for disagreement. Furthermore, this study does not offer the last word on the texts evaluated. Instructors may find that a text that contains virtually no discussion of ethics does the best job of helping students learn basic editing skills. In such cases, however, this study may still prove useful by reminding the instructor of the need to provide supplemental material on ethics. Finally, it must also be noted that some of the texts evaluated are several years old and would have been planned before the recent explosion of interest in media ethics reached its current level. The authors of those texts may be revising their books to include more information on ethics.

Findings and analysis

Research question 1: How much space do editing textbooks devote to ethics?

Seven of the eleven texts evaluated have a chapter that has "ethics" or one of the word's cognates in its title. (See Table 1.) The four texts that have no such chapter offer at least a short passage under a heading that includes "ethics" or a related word. The amount of ethics discussion in the texts varies widely, however, whether the portions considered are those the authors label as being about ethics or all those that, by this study's definition, contain material about ethics-related concepts. Friend, Challenger, and McAdams, for example, devote 10 percent of their text to a chapter titled "Doing Justice: Legal Issues, Ethics and Bias"[45] and two ethics sub-sections in other chapters.[46] In contrast, Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks devote only about one-tenth of one percent of their book to a passage headed "The Journalist and the Three Schools of Ethics."[47]

Several of the ethics-titled chapters were not devoted solely to ethics — four discussed law,[48] and one included grammar instruction and exercises[49] — and all of the texts incorporated ethics-related material into skills instruction. So it was important to consider, in a second measurement, the entire book. The differences among the texts are less striking there than in the ethics-titled sections. Although the average amount of total text space given to discussions of ethics is 10 percent, four texts (Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks; Fellow and Clanin; Smith and O'Connell; and Stovall, Self, and Mullins) devote less than 7 percent of their content to ethics or related material, and two (Gilmore and Harrigan) devote more than 14 percent of their pages to ethics or related material. (See Table 1.)

Table 1

Editing textbook	Has chapter with "ethics" in title[1]	Has sub-section with "ethics" in title[2]	% of text in "ethics" chapter &/or sub-section[3]	% of text on ethics, related concepts
Baskette, Sissors, Brooks	No	Yes	0.1	4.8
Berner	No	Yes	2.9[4]	11.8
Bowles and Borden	Yes	——	7.2	10.8
Fellow and Clanin	Yes	——	7.8	6.6
Frazell and Tuck	No[6]	Yes	0.3[4]	13.4
Friend, Challenger, McAdams	Yes	Yes	10.0[8]	9.0
Gilmore	Yes	——	4.3	15.9
Harrigan	Yes[7]	Yes	8.7[8]	14.5
Lieb	Yes	——	6.2[9]	12.6
Smith and O'Connell	Yes	——	4.1[5]	4.9
Stovall, Self, Mullins	No	Yes	1.0	5.8

[1] "Yes" means the text has a chapter with a title that contains the word "ethics" or one of its cognates.

[2] "Yes" means the text has a sub-section (a unit smaller than a chapter) with a title containing the word "ethics" or one of its cognates. Books that have an ethics chapter receive dashes (---) in this column unless they also have a separate ethics sub-section in another chapter. Only two books -- the texts by Harrigan and by Friend, Challenger, and McAdams -- have both a chapter and a separate sub-section devoted to ethics. Harrigan has one ethics subsection outside the main ethics chapter; Friend, Challenger, and McAdams have two.

[3] The percentage of pages in the book that belong to the "ethics" chapter or sub-section. Each numbered page, except those that were blank and those that contained acknowledgements and index material, was considered.

[4] Deals exclusively with ethics in photography.

[5] More than half the chapter is devoted to law.

[6] A chapter that does not include the word "ethics" or its cognates in the title, "A Hit List for Troubleshooters," discusses law and ethics. In it are reprinted the Associated Press Managing Editors Code of Ethics and the 7 1/2-page proposed 1993 APME Declaration of Ethics.

[7] More than half the chapter is devoted to law, but other chapters discussed ethics-related matters.

[8] The percentage was figured using both the number of pages in the ethics chapter and in the ethics subsections.

[9] Nearly half the chapter is devoted to grammar instruction and exercises that have little to do with ethics.

Research question 2: What are the ethics lessons taught by editing textbooks?

Each of the eleven texts attempts to reinforce the basic ethics lessons of good journalism. Each declares that good journalists tell the truth; treat sources, readers, and co-workers with respect; provide balanced stories;[50] attempt to put aside, as much as possible, their own biases; avoid doing unnecessary harm; avoid pandering to bad taste; and resist inappropriate influence from personal connections or advertisers. More interesting for this study, however, are the three ethics lessons tailored especially for copy editors that appeared in almost all the books. They seem to have been emphasized because they are timely. They involve new technology, newly developed understandings of the craft of editing, or continuing controversies.

1. Digitally manipulated photographs lie. Nine textbooks[51] discuss this topic, which Lieb suggested "threatens to undermine journalistic credibility more than any other questionable practice."[52] In a passage on electronic darkrooms written by a newspaper staff member, the Stovall, Self, and Mullins textbook offers a weak caution that "cloning," digitally copying one part of a photograph onto another part, "is subject to ethical decisions as to the appropriateness of changing the content of a photograph to make it more aesthetically pleasing."[53] The other eight texts that consider this topic are more forceful. Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks tell students that "manufacturing untrue photos is just as wrong as manufacturing a quotation,"[54] and Berner urges future journalists to be alert for "unethical manipulation."[55] According to Frazell and Tuck, editors who think they must publish a digitally altered photograph should at least explain to readers in the cutline what was done to the photograph. And that explanation, the authors note, should be written in terms average readers can understand: "To the reader, the term editorial illustration means virtually nothing."[56]

2. Articles belong, in a philosophical sense, to writers, not to editors. Copy editors always have been warned to make only necessary changes in writers' stories. But editing textbooks of the 1990s give new vigor to this charge and imbue it with an implicit ethical component. Consider this passage from Lieb: "Editors and writers should share control. Rather than wrestling copy from writers' hands at the last minute and whipping it into shape, editors should work with writers in solving problems and overcoming obstacles."[57] Friend, Challenger, and McAdams give space to a former copy editor, who recalls the result of rewriting "an average lead" without contacting the writer or being able to articulate what was wrong with the original. "We worked together for 18 more months, but it was always strained," writes Glen Bleske, now a journalism professor. "I had made an enemy because I had no sense of the stake a writer has in a story."[58] The message to copy editors is: Don't steal, share.

All but one of the eleven texts emphasize this point,[59] and Harrigan focuses on it throughout her book. She stresses it her second chapter, "The Copy Editor's Role,"[60] returns to it in her 10th chapter, "Working with Writers,"[61] and 11th chapter, "Editing Meaning: The Big Picture,"[62] and even brings it up when discussing what editors should do when confronted with writing that lacks strong verbs. "Editors can't go around inserting verbs — or any other words — into writers' stories at will," she writes.[63] Several textbooks are particularly adamant that editors have a responsibility not to alter a writer's style.[64] Frazell and Tuck indicate that what is at stake when editors work with reporters' copy is essentially the ethical value of minimizing harm: "Because editors are supervisors, their treatment of writers can have lasting effects, helpful or harmful. Good editors recognize this and strive to foster and encourage good technique while preserving the individual's independent flair."[65]

3. When it comes to editing quotations, truth-telling and fairness clash. One of the long-running debates on copy desks centers on this question: "Is it ever permissible to 'clean up' quotes?" In general, those who answer "no" believe that any words that appear inside quotation marks should be the exact words of the speaker. To change a quote, these editors say, is to violate the principle of truth-telling. Those who disagree think repairing grammatical errors that make an important quote difficult for readers to understand enhances a newspaper's ability to convey the truth about an issue. They also tend to think cleaning up small grammar mistakes can be a way of avoiding harm, particularly to members of traditionally marginalized groups and those unaccustomed to speaking to the press. They observe that editors traditionally have cleaned up the quotes of powerful political figures but have left in grammatical errors in quotations from day laborers.

Nine of the eleven texts consider this issue, and eight prescribe how copy editors should handle it.[66] But the ethical principles involved are rarely discussed, and the information presented may confuse students as much as it enlightens them. The texts often cite this rule, "Don't change quotations," then tell students it is permissible to break that rule. For example, Berner first says that grammatical errors in a quotation should not be "cleaned up" instead reparied by paraphrasing the quotation and eliminating the quote marks. (To do otherwise, he writes, "misleads the reader" and is "false.") Later in the same discussion, however, Berner permits a copy editor to "quietly fix the error" when a foreign student is quoted as saying U.S. conduct is an "*insultation* to the Iranian revolution."[67] The distinction between those cases would be clear to professionals or professors but might be lost on students.

So might the changing arguments Stovall, Self, and Mullins use in a series of statements about quotes. Early in the text, they write, "Use the exact words of the speaker. Anything that is within quotation marks should be something the speaker actually said."[68] More than 80 pages later, they concede the situation is more confusing and complicated:

> Most of the time people's exact words will accurately express their meaning. Sometimes, however, a journalist must chose between accuracy of words and accuracy of meaning. Finally, direct quotes in news stories rarely include bad grammar even if the person quoted used bad grammar. Quoting someone who uses English incorrectly can make that person appear unnecessarily foolish and can distract from the real meaning of the story. In a news story, a journalist usually cleans up bad grammar in a direct quote. (Feature story writers may choose not to follow this practice.) These conventions are important ones for journalists to observe if they are to gain the respect of their readers and colleagues.[69]

Friend, Challenger, and McAdams attempt to transform this confusion with concrete advice. They say copy editors should ask their news organization to issue a policy statement on altering quotes. Then, even if the policy is flexible enough to allow "cleaning up" quotes, copy editors should consult the writer before changing a quotation. "There may be reasons for changing a quote *slightly*," the authors write, "but they must be extremely good ones."[70]

Research question 3: Are the lessons relevant to copy editing?
Do case studies and examples presented involve copy editors?

Overall, the texts offer few examples and case studies that are directly relevant to copy editors' jobs. Harrigan, whose text is an exception, asks students to decide whether they should leave alone or clean up the grammar in this quote from a losing quarterback: "This was one of them days when I shouldn'ta got out of bed."[71] She also says that copy editors who encounter the phrase "could not be reached for comment" should work with reporters to develop more specific, and fairer, wording that tells readers how many attempts were made. Even Harrigan, however, builds much of her discussion of ethics around an issue that deals with a conflict no professional newspaper copy editor is likely to encounter: The case study she uses to illustrate ethical decision-making is based on a college newspaper's publication of graphic horror fiction.

Other texts discuss dilemmas about which a copy editor might offer an opinion but could not make a final decision. Berner, for example, reprints a dramatic photograph that shows a man screaming as firefighters pull him from a wrecked van.[72] The photograph is so sensitive that in most newsrooms a decision to use it could be made only by senior editors. Depending on the newsroom climate, a copy editor writing the cutline, designing the page on which the photo was used, or editing the accompanying story might be able to offer an opinion about the photograph. But he or she would be unlikely to decide whether to run it.

Two of the three scenarios Bowles and Borden propose in a section titled "How to decide questions of ethics" fall into the same category. They ask students to imagine themselves in the shoes of three editors facing decisions: "the senior editor on duty," considering whether to publish the fact that a prominent resident died of AIDS; a sports editor deciding whether to accept free travel on an NFL team plane; and "the editor who is laying out tomorrow's Page One" deciding whether to use a photograph of the covered body of a child killed in a car wreck.[73] A copy editor might design the front page and could be among a group of editorial employees discussing whether a newspaper should name AIDS as a cause of death. It is unlikely, however, that a copy editor would have any input into a sports department travel decision. As the authors point out later in the text, copy editors are more likely to deal with questions such as "Are headlines and captions fair and accurate?" and "Are stories edited to eliminate bias and opinion? Are subjective words or words suggesting a viewpoint given thoughtful consideration?"[74]

In some texts, however, the main ethics decision-making scenarios clearly involve *only* senior editors. Gilmore opens his ethics chapter with the story of a managing editor and sports editor considering what to do about reports that two former college football players received gifts worth several thousand dollars.[75] He as much as concedes that this situation does little to teach future copy editors about the ethical dilemmas they may face: "Top editors will have to make an ethical decision in this case," he states.[76] Frazell and Tuck offer as an ethics object lesson the Janet Cooke's 1981 *Washington Post* feature story about an 8-year-old heroin addict. They describe the soul-searching that went on at the *Post* after Cooke, who had won a Pulitzer Prize for her work, admitted the story was made up. The authors neglect, however, to discuss the role alert copy editors might have played in detecting the fabrication.[77] Lieb starts his ethics chapter by asking students to imagine themselves as the editor of a city magazine facing an ethical dilemma; later, he builds his ethical analysis section around a scenario that asks students to imagine themselves the editor of a magazine for runners.

Research question 4: Do the texts provide guidelines for ethical decision-making and/or a theoretical basis for ethical behavior?

Although all the textbooks studied include some information on ethics, only four provide detailed accounts of how to make ethical decisions. Fellow and Clanin suggest that there are seven questions editors should consider:

> What specifically concerns you about this story or visual? Have you discussed the situation with the writer or the photographer? Does this story or visual have any benefit for your readers? What harm could come from printing the story or visual? Will the story or visual provide greater benefits for readers, or will it inflict more harm on them? What avenues are available to you? Can you hold it for more information? Can you run just a part of it? Can you tone it down? Can you justify your decision when readers complain to you?[78]

Drawing on the work of University of Oregon professor Thomas H. Bivins, who consolidated the work of several media ethics scholars, Lieb compiles a list of 10 questions that editors facing ethical decisions should ask themselves:

> What is the ethical issue? . . . What are the relevant facts? . . . Who will be affected by your decision, and in what ways are you obligated to each of them? . . . What are your options? . . . Which options would

> be favored by each affected party? . . . Which could cause harm to any of those to whom you are responsible? . . . Do legal, professional or organizational rules or principles automatically invalidate any of your options? . . . Which principles support and reject which options? . . . Based on this analysis, what is the best solution to this situation? . . . How would you defend your decision to your most adamant detractor?[79]

Harrigan offers a similar model that also asks students facing ethical decisions to consider whether they have faced similar situations before. "What did you do that time?" she asks. "How did you end up feeling about that situation?"[80] Only one set of authors, Bowles and Borden, introduces a widely accepted moral decision-making tool. They suggest students use the Potter Box, a model of moral reasoning proposed by Harvard divinity professor Ralph Potter. It calls for users to define their problem, name the values and principles at work, choose loyalties, and finally make a judgment.[81]

Two texts stress the need to involve others in ethical decision-making but do so differently. Harrigan portrays collaborative decision-making as the ideal. "It's rarely a good idea to make an ethical decision alone,"[82] she writes, because "you don't want to be the only one responsible if a crisis results" and "unless you've solicited other people's ideas, you can't be sure you've considered all aspects of the situation."[83] She suggests that copy editors find people in the newsroom whose judgments they trust to serve as decision-making mentors. Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks, on the other hand, state flatly that "Junior editors are expected to defer to their superiors."[84] They do not, however, say what copy editors should do when a superior demands actions that violate the newspaper's code of ethics, the copy editor's personal ethics, or accepted journalistic standards.[85]

A few texts offer guidance that seems to be based on moral philosophy but do not tell students that it is. Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks write, "Editors face ethical dilemmas almost daily as they judge whether to run a quotation that is sure to embarrass or humiliate, a fact that will damage a person's reputation or a revelation that may end a public official's career. Usually they weigh the pros and cons and make a decision based on the facts at hand."[86] That sounds as if the authors are calling for, or at least describing, a utilitarian weighing of outcomes that seeks the greatest good for the greatest number. However, it may be impossible for students to discern from the authors' statement exactly what principles they should apply to their future newsroom decisions.

Four texts specifically mention moral philosophy, but together they devote fewer than three pages to it. Bowles and Borden explain Immanuel Kant's Categorical Imperative, John Stuart Mill's principle of utility, and Aristotle's Golden Mean in less than a page.[87] Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks devote six paragraphs to "The Journalist and the Three Schools of Ethics," which covers deontological ethics in six sentences, and teleological and situation ethics in three sentences each. Lieb invokes Aristotle, Mill, Kant, John Rawls' veil of ignorance and the Judeo-Christian tradition in a total of seven sentences.[88] Fellow and Clanin discuss moral philosophy in a single sentence — "Mill's Principle of Utility states: Seek the greatest good for the greatest number"[89] — that does not give the philosopher's first names. No text explains who the cited philosophers were, when they lived, or how their ideas might be applied specifically to editing.

Bowles and Borden, however, do provide some non-journalism context for classic moral philosophy. They walk students through the different actions to which the principles of Kant, Aristotle, and Mill might lead a penniless person who needed medicine for a relative and was considering stealing it.[90] Those authors also ask students, in an exercise, to reason through scenarios using the Potter Box and then "invoke one of the philosophical principles mentioned in the chapter (Kant, Mill or Aristotle) or name one of your own to help justify your ethical decision."[91] In general, however, the authors of editing texts seem content to leave discussions of ethical theory to media ethics courses. Lieb confronts this issue directly. "No short discussion can adequately cover all the ethical theories an editor should consider in reaching a conclusion," he writes. "[T]hat's the job of the media ethics course, which every communications student should take."[92]

Conclusion and recommendations

Each of the eleven copy editing textbooks studied offers some discussion of ethics. Each stresses the basic principles of ethical journalism: tell the truth; treat sources, readers, and co-workers with respect; provide balance; avoid bias; avoid doing unnecessary harm; avoid pandering to bad taste; and resist inappropriate influence. In addition, most discuss at some length three ethics-related issues that are especially relevant to copy editors: digital manipulation of photographs, accountability to reporters for changes made in editing, and cleaning up quotations. Generally, the books do a good job of explaining how photographic manipulation can deceive the reader and of portraying editing as a collaborative process. However, when discussing the ethics of altering quotes, the textbooks generally reflect the confusion that exists in the industry.

Seven texts — those by Berner; Bowles and Borden; Frazell and Tuck; Friend, Challenger, and McAdams; Gilmore; Harrigan; and Lieb — devote a substantially larger percentage of their total pages to ethics than the other four. However, even the texts that devote more than average space to ethics have shortcomings. Some offer no model for ethical decision-making. Several focus on examples and case studies that are not specifically related to copy editing. None gives a detailed account of how copy editors should handle ethical conflict in the newsroom.

These findings have two implications for editing instructors. First, if they use a textbook that devotes relatively little space to ethics, they may want to consider supplementing the textbook with other material on ethics and editing. Second, even if they use a textbook that provides a greater amount of ethics-related material, they may need to provide students with material that helps overcome a particular topical shortcoming or a lack of relevant examples.

The findings also suggests several ways in which authors of editing texts can make their books more relevant to future copy editors:

1. Use examples and case studies related to copy editing. It is much more exciting to imagine oneself a managing editor considering whether to publish an expose of a college football program than it is to imagine oneself a copy editor making a story more balanced by moving an accused person's denial from the fifteenth paragraph to the second. However, editing students who go into copy desk work will do the latter — many times — before they become senior editors. Textbooks on editing should prepare them to do it well.

2. Explain the origins of principles that are espoused. Technical skills that future copy editors are learning today almost certainly will be outdated before their careers are over. Today's students may someday edit for media that today's educators cannot imagine. Nevertheless, their jobs probably will remain essentially evaluative. Textbooks on editing can help prepare editors to be good evaluators by clearly stating where the principles they espouse come from, be it industry norms, moral philosophy, or law.

3. Offer some sort of guide for ethical decision-making related to editing. Texts that discuss ethical journalism without offering at least an informal model for ethical decision-making may confuse students more than they help. Essentially, they are pointing out an illness without showing students how to prevent it.

4. Identify moral philosophers. A copy editing textbook cannot be expected to teach the history of moral philosophy. If, however, a text discusses how principles articulated by philosophers can be applied to editing — something that seems reasonable to do — the text should provide at least a full name and a couple of paragraphs about the philosopher. That not only would aid students who are unfamiliar with Kant or Mill, it also would demonstrate the respect for complete and contextualized information that editing courses should instill.

5. Prepare students better for ethical conflict in the newsroom. No journalists escape working — at least once in their careers — in a newsroom where their personal or journalistic values clash sharply with those of their co-workers or, worse, bosses. This can be a particular problem for copy editors.[93] Although they traditionally have been charged with being gatekeepers, they occupy one of the lowest rungs in the newsroom. As a result, the ability to do what they believe is ethical often must be negotiated with superiors.

Without a firm grasp of ethics principles, a foundation for ethical decision-making, and a plan for dealing with ethics problems — all things editing textbooks could provide — future copy editors may not be prepared to take their place as newspapers' final guardians of ethical journalism.

Endnotes

[1] William L. Rivers and Cleve Mathews, *Ethics for the Media* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988): 128. This is one of the few books on journalism ethics that considers copy editors in a substantive manner.

[2] A 1992-1993 survey of 260 programs, departments, and schools of journalism and mass communication (80 percent of the 325 units that were listed in the 1993 *AEJMC Directory*) found that 158, or 61 percent, offered at least one media ethics course. The course was required at only 66 of those units, or 42 percent. See Edmund B. Lambeth, Clifford Christians, and Kyle Cole, "Role of the Media Ethics Course in the Education of Journalists," *Journalism Educator* (August 1994), 21. The percentage of schools offering at least one media ethics course was much higher than in 1977, when Christians reported that 66 of 237 responding schools (almost 28 percent) had an ethics course. However, the percentage of schools requiring students to take an ethics course fell from 59 percent to 42 percent. For the 1977 figures, see Clifford G. Christians and Catherine L. Covert, *Teaching Ethics in Journalism Education*, The Teaching of Ethics, vol. III (Hastings-on-Hudson: Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, 1980), 12-13.

[3] An exhaustive review of books on journalism ethics is beyond the scope of this paper, but two examples may be instructive. Only two of the 45 case studies in *Doing Ethics in Journalism: A Handbook with Case Studies 3rd ed.* involve copy editors. Although "editors" are mentioned frequently, it generally is stated or implied that they are senior editors or assigning editors. See "A Columnist's Edge Cuts Skin-deep" and "A Photo-digital Cover-up" in Jay Black, Bob Steele, and Ralph Barney, *Doing Ethics in Journalism: A Handbook with Case Studies 3rd ed.*, (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1999), 198-201, 229-233. Similarly, Edmund B. Lambeth asserts that "reporters can use their brains and tongues, and ask not to cover stories they believe would compromise their ethics" but does not explore whether copy editors should ask to avoid writing headlines for or checking grammar in stories they think compromise their ethics. Edmund B. Lambeth, *Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 62-63, 71.

[4] Christopher Meyers, "Blueprint of Skills, Concepts for Media Ethics Course," *Journalism Educator* 45, no. 3 (Autumn 1990): 26. Copy editors rarely, if ever, are offered "freebies," promise anonymity to sources, or are invited to sit on the local economic development board. Instead, copy editors may struggle with the ethics of ownership of copy ("Should I edit with a light hand because that story is essentially the creative property of the reporter? Or should I rework it substantially because that is my job?"); valuing style over substance ("I have time to either edit competently or design a visually compelling page, but not both. Which do I do?"); and presenting reality ("Should I alter this awkward quotation?").

[5] Douglas Sloan, "The Teaching of Ethics in the American Undergraduate Curriculum," in *Ethics Teaching in Higher Education*, Sissela Bok and Daniel Callahan, eds. (New York, London: Plenum Press, 1980).

[6] Ibid., 19.

[7] L. N. Flint, "The Course in Ethics," *The Journalism Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (1924): 21.

[8] Christians and Covert, 12. Fifty-nine percent of schools that offered an ethics class required it of majors.

[9] Lambeth, Christians, and Cole, 21.

[10] Clifford G. Christians and Edmund B. Lambeth, "The Status of Ethics Instruction in Communication Departments," *Communication Education* 45 (July 1996): 237.

[11] David Carr, "Professional Education and Professional Ethics," *International Journal of Applied Philosophy* 12, no. 1 (1999): 33-46.

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[12] E.g., Laura M. Barden, Priscilla A. Frase, and Jeffrey Kovac, "Teaching Scientific Ethics: A Case Studies Approach," *The American Biology Teacher* 59, no. 1 (January 1997): 12-14.

[13] E.g, Robert Sack, "Integrating Ethics into the Accounting Curriculum," *Journal of Accountancy*, October 1991: 43; Steven M. Mintz, "Ethics in the Management Accounting Curriculum, *Management Accounting (USA)* 71, no. 12 (June 1990): 51-54; and Sally Gunz and John McCutcheon, "Are Academics Committed to Accounting Ethics Education?" *Journal of Business Ethics* 17, no. 11 (1998): 1145-1154.

[14] E.g., Roger A. Killingsworth Jr. and Darla J. Twale, Integrating Ethics into Technical Curricula," *Journal of Professional Issues in Engineering Education and Practice* 120, no. 1: 58-69.

[15] Robert B. Ashmore and William C. Starr, *Ethics Across the Curriculum: The Marquette Experience* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1991); and C. David Lisman, *The Curricular Integration of Ethics: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996).

[16] Ruth Walden and David Gordon surveyed media law instructors and found that most believed discussion of ethics had a place in the media law class. In their survey, more than 70 percent of the 132 responding members of the Law Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication chose one of these two responses: "ethics is a necessary corollary (to law) and must be dealt with briefly, but legal material should not be dropped to make room" or "ethics is so important to understanding legal material that it must be covered somewhat even if legal material is omitted." Most of those in the 70-plus percent said, however, that they actually devoted less than 10 percent of their courses to ethics. Ruth Walden and David Gordon, "Survey Indicates Ethics Have Place in Curriculum," *Journalism Educator* 43, no. 2 (1988): 65-66.

[17] Edward J. Smith, "Professional and Academic Levels of a Mass Media Writing Course," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 52, no. 2 (spring 1997): 59-65; Brian Richardson, "Four Standards for Teaching Ethics in Journalism," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 9, no. 2 (1998): 109-117.

[18] Thomas H. Bivins, "Are Public Relations Texts Covering Ethics Adequately?" *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 4, no. 1 (1989), 39-52; Stanley L. Harrison, "Ethics and Moral Issues in Public Relations Curricula," *Journalism Educator* 45, no. 3 (autumn 1990): 32-38.

[19] Joseph Plumley and Yolanda Ferragina, "Do Advertising Texts Cover Ethics Adequately?" *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 5, no. 4 (1990): 247-255.

[20] Jane S. McConnell, "American Journalism Textbooks and Social Responsibility," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 54, no. 1 (1999, winter): 18-30.

[21] Joseph A. Mirando, "Lessons on Ethics in News Reporting Textbooks, 1867-1997," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 13, no. 1 (1998): 26-39.

[22] Ibid., 29-30.

[23] Ibid., 35.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Bivins, 47.

[26] Bivins, 49.

[27] Plumley and Ferragina, 252.

[28] Ibid., 250.

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[29] Ibid., 251.

[30] Harrison's sample included one textbook examined in the same edition by Bivins as well as later editions of two texts Bivins considered.

[31] Harrison, 35.

[32] Ibid., 33. This book, Scott Cutlipp, Allen H. Center, and Glen M. Broom, *Effective Public Relations, 6th ed.* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1985),was also examined by Bivins, who noted that although the book had an ethics chapter, it viewed ethics "in the sole context of professional associations and codes" and viewed social responsibility "from a business focus." See Bivins, 43.

[33] Donna Besser, Gerald Stone, and Luan Nan, "Textbooks and Teaching: A Lesson from Students," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 54, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 5.

[34] Besser, Stone, and Nan, 10.

[35] It must be noted that some would take issue with this statement. J. H. McManus, for example, might see copy editors as newsroom "decision takers," who, in contrast with "decision makers," lack the power to act as independent moral agents. See J. H. McManus, "Who's Responsible for Journalism?" *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 12, no. 1 (1997): 5-17. The amount of decision-making copy editors engage in certainly varies from newspaper to newspaper and sometimes even among various copy desks at the same newspaper. At small newspapers, copy editors may function essentially as news editors, deciding story length and play at least on many inside pages. Even at metropolitan dailies, copy editors may do a lot of gate-keeping, particularly with respect to wire stories, choosing which will run and at what length. They may also have the authority to make a variety of needed changes in the text of articles. Copy editors may also design pages, deciding — perhaps in concert with others — where on the page or in a particular section stories will appear. At other newspapers, however, copy editors' decision-making is limited.

[36] Nancy M. Davis, "Honor Thy Copy Editors ... and They'll Help You Regain the Faith of Readers.," *Presstime*, November 1997, 52.

[37] Sinead O'Brien, "Secrets and Lies," *American Journalism Review*, September 1998, 41.

[38] Felicia Barringer, "Once Accused, Now the Accuser: Ex-bomb Suspect's Suit Challenges an Atlanta Newsroom," *The New York Times, national edition*, February 6, 1999, C1, C10; and Ann Woolner, "Just Doing Our Job," *Brill's Content*, April 2000, 86-93, 122-124. In Woolner, see particularly pages 123-124.

[39] The term the Library of Congress subject system uses for copy editing.

[40] Books eliminated from the study sample included workbooks designed to supplement editing texts; books designed for magazine, newsletter, corporate publication, or manuscript copy editors — such as Don Ranly, *Publication Editing* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991) and Elsie Myers Stanton, *The Fine Art of Copyediting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991) — and foreign texts that would be of limited use to students preparing to work for U.S. publications, such as F. W. Hodgson, *The New Subediting: Apple-Mac, QuarkXpress and After, 3rd ed.*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998. Also eliminated was Martin L. Gibson, *Editing in the Electronic Era, 3rd Edition* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991). Although the book is the latest edition of that particular title and was published after 1990, a successor text, Ron F. Smith and Loraine M. O'Connell, *Editing Today*, (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1996), has been published under a different title.

[41] Available online at http://spj.org/ethics/code.htm

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[42] See particularly Black, Steele, and Barney; Lambeth; Gene Goodwin and Ron F. Smith, *Groping for Ethics in Journalism, 3rd ed.* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994); Stephen Klaidman and Tom L. Beauchamp, *The Virtuous Journalist* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); and Philip Meyer, *Ethical Journalism: A Guide for Students, Practitioners and Consumers* (New York: Longman, 1987).

[43] Gibson, 29.

[44] For example, exercises take up 32 percent of the space in the Fellow and Clanin book; 27 percent of Bowles and Borden; 24 percent of Stovall, Self, and Mullins; and 22 percent of Lieb. A decision was made not to eliminate pages containing exercises from consideration in this study because some exercises were specifically designed to teach students about ethics and related concepts and so were counted in determining total percentage of pages devoted to ethics. (See, for example, the exercises in Bowles and Borden, pp. 215-216, which ask students to, among other things, reflect on the American Society of Newspaper Editors' code of ethics and find newspaper stories that might have caused staff members to refer to the newspaper's ethics policy.) Interestingly, neither of the two textbooks that scored lowest on total percentage of pages devoted to ethics and related topics — Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks, and Smith and Connell — contains exercises. (Smith and Connell do pose questions for readers in the text, but the questions do not take the form of workbook exercises. Rather, the questions are answered immediately in a subsequent paragraph.)

[45] Friend, Challenger, and McAdams, 367-401.

[46] Ethical and Legal Issues, pp. 458-467, a sub-section of the chapter "An Eye for News: Editing Photos," and Audience, Advertising and Ethics: New Realities Online, pp. 561-566, a sub-section of the chapter "From Gatekeeper to Guide: Online News and 21st-century Editing."

[47] Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks, 37.

[48] Harrigan "Legal and Ethical Issues for Editors," 144-175; Fellow and Clanin, "Editing for Libel and Ethics, 93-116; Friend, Challenger, and McAdams, "Doing Justice: Legal Issues, Ethics and Bias," 367-401; and Smith and O'Connell, "Editors, Law and Ethics," 137-146.

[49] Lieb, "Grammar School: Making Words Match," 189-204 of Chapter 6, "Establishing an Ethical Foundation," 169-204.

[50] Interestingly, some of the texts preserve the traditional journalistic mantra "tell both sides of the story" (Smith and O'Connell, 8, 142; Berner, 54-55). Others urge editors to "give all people involved in a news story a chance to tell their sides of it" (Stovall, Self, and Mullins, 89) or to "cover all significant sides of every case" (Frazell and Tuck, 33) rather than showing "two artificially polarized points of view" (Frazell and Tuck, 56).

[51] This is not covered by Gilmore, whose book was published in 1990, at the beginning of the electronic darkroom revolution, or by Smith and O'Connell, whose book was published in 1996, after many large daily newspapers had converted to electronic image processing.

[52] Lieb, 320.

[53] Amy Kilpatrick, in Stovall, Self and Mullins, 175.

[54] Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks, 223.

[55] Berner, 233.

[56] Frazell and Tuck, 253.

[57] Lieb, 31.

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[58] Glen Bleske, "Insight." In Friend, Challenger, and McAdams, 154.

[59] Stovall, Self, and Mullins did not share this focus.

[60] Harrigan, 21-45, particularly 30-31.

[61] Ibid., 305-325.

[62] Ibid., 350-386.

[63] Ibid., 87.

[64] E.g. Smith and O'Connell, 100, 107; Frazell and Tuck, 36; Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks 39; and Gilmore, 19.

[65] Frazell and Tuck, 5.

[66] Only Gilmore's book and the Frazell and Tuck text do not consider altering quotes. Smith and O'Connell describe the two views, but do not suggest which path copy editors should follow. Instead, they write, "As a copy editor sitting on the rim, you can sidestep this ethical discussion because you won't be allowed to create quotations yourself." That misstates the issue. Although it is true that copy editors do not create quotations, they sometimes edit stories that contain quotations in which the speakers make grammatical errors. In those cases, copy editors must decide whether to correct the grammar.

[67] Berner, 80.

[68] Stovall, Self, and Mullins, 8.

[69] Ibid., 91.

[70] Friend, Challenger, and McAdams, 180.

[71] Harrigan, 138.

[72] Berner, 229.

[73] Bowles and Borden, 193.

[74] Ibid., 206.

[75] Gilmore, 223. This would be a serious violation of the rules governing U.S. college athletics.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Frazell and Tuck, 138-139.

[78] Fellow and Clanin, 103.

[79] Lieb, 175-179.

[80] Harrigan, 165.

[81] Bowles and Borden, 195.

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[82] Harrigan, 161.

[83] Ibid., 161, 164.

[84] Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks, 37.

[85] The best discussion of several related issues — policy changes, newsroom sacred cows, and publisher meddling in editorial content — comes from Gilmore's chapter titled "Problems of Policy," 236-247.

[86] Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks, 37.

[87] Bowles and Borden, 194-195.

[88] Lieb, 182.

[89] Fellow and Clanin, 103.

[90] Bowles and Borden, 194-195.

[91] Ibid., 215.

[92] Lieb, 182.

[93] From time to time, discussions about such situations are posted on the American Copy Editors Society discussion board, http://www. copydesk.org/wwwboard1/

Teaching Communication in an Effective Large Lecture Format:

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ABSTRACT

Teaching Communication in an Effective Large Lecture Format

Many communication instructors and administrators search for an efficient and expeditious way to teach their burgeoning numbers of communication majors and general university students, while, if possible, utilizing minimal faculty resources. Many communication departments are moving to the large lecture and/or mass lecture format as a solution to the some of their enrollment and resource problems. Even though large lecture classes are not a new phenomenon, they continue to be a mode of instruction that meets with mixed reviews, i.e., although there are advantages to such classes from a number of perspectives, many students and faculty find such classes both frustrating and unsatisfying, from both a content and a communicative perspective.

This paper examines the large lecture format issue from a number of different angles. First, this paper looks at concerns that students have about large lecture classes and indicates how each concern can be at least addressed, even if not fully solved. Second, this paper will address several concerns that faculty seem to have about large lecture classes. Finally, this paper will suggest several variations to the large lecture class that may be profitably used by communication departments such as email access to the instructor, periodic scheduled small group face-to-face discussions, online delivery of brief focused papers, the use of a variety of testing options, and periodic virtual discussions. The pros and cons of using an individual instructor vs. team-teaching and the pros and cons of using paid or volunteer teaching assistants will also be discussed.

Teaching Communication in an Effective Large Lecture Format:

Many communication instructors and administrators search for an efficient and expeditious way to teach their burgeoning numbers of communication majors and general university students, while, if possible, utilizing minimal faculty resources. Many communication departments are moving to the large lecture and/or mass lecture format as a solution to the some of their enrollment and resource problems. Even though large lecture classes are not a new phenomenon, they continue to be a mode of instruction that meets with mixed reviews, i.e., although there are advantages to such classes from a number of perspectives, many students and faculty find such classes both frustrating and unsatisfying, from both a content and a communicative perspective.

Defining what constitutes a large lecture class is not necessarily an easy question. In some universities, a large lecture class is one where there are a minimum of 50 students to whom the instructor delivers material at the same time or there may be as many as 1000 students who attend to the instructor's comments. At other universities, a class is considered a large lecture class when the instructor cannot respond to individuals but must think in terms of the collective. The large lecture class can be taught in a variety of formats. The instructor can be completely responsible for all aspects of the class. Or the instructor can be part of a team teaching group, who are all responsible for all of the students or who divide up lecturing responsibility and then have a small group from the whole for which each has primary responsibility. A large lecture class can be handled by two or more instructors who divide the course content up or by two or more instructors who interact in the teaching of each class. A large lecture class can utilize teaching assistants, responsible for some or all of the course content and responsible for some or all of the course grading, or such a course can utilize helpers intermittently, for specialized tasks.

No matter what format is used for the large lecture class, it is usually the case that the instructor of such a class must address certain questions of content. Can an instructor cover as much material in a large lecture class as she/he can cover in a typically smaller format? Can papers be assigned in a large lecture format or are multiple choice exam questions the reasonable way to assess students learning? Can any kind of feedback other than grades be given to students in such large lecture classes? These are just a few of the questions that arise when instructors and/or departments consider delivering instruction in a large lecture format.

More importantly for communication departments, there are communication concerns when large lecture classes are being contemplated. Perhaps more than in many other classes in the university, students expect to communicate in their communication classes, i.e., they expect to learn, in part, through a discussion of class material and concepts. In addition, many students find that the typically small enrollments and typically intimate atmosphere in their communication classes leads to a closeness between student and instructor and among classmates that is difficult to foster in a class taught in the large lecture mode.

As a result of both these illustrative content and communication concerns, students and faculty alike may approach the taking or teaching of large lecture classes with some trepidation. In order to examine the pros and cons of the large lecture format to the teaching of communication classes, this paper examines the large lecture format issue from a number of different angles. First, this paper looks at concerns that students have about large lecture classes and indicates how each concern can be at least addressed, even if not fully solved. Second, this paper will address several concerns that faculty seem to have about large lecture classes. Finally, this paper will suggest several variations to the large lecture class that may be profitably used by communication departments as well as strategies that can be used to increase student and instructor connection to the class and each other, such as email access to the instructor, periodic scheduled small group face-to-face discussions, online delivery of brief focused papers, the use of a variety of testing options, and periodic virtual discussions. The pros and cons of using an individual instructor vs. team-teaching and the pros and cons of using paid or volunteer teaching assistants will also be discussed.

Much of what I will address in this paper comes from direct experience. I have taught a large lecture class with 200-240 students enrolled, as both the sole instructor and as part of a two-person team for the class. I have taught in a large lecture/lab situation where five to seven instructors share responsibilities for lectures given twice weekly; lab sections comprise small groups of students, usually 15 or under, who discuss the week's material and who are responsible to one of the instructors who is responsible for grading their papers in the class. I have taught without additional aid, with a paid .2 graduate assistant, with graduate students who aided in the class as part of an independent study in supervised college teaching, and with an advanced undergraduate who helped for approximately five hours per week. These experiences have given me a variety of opportunities to test out various approaches to the large lecture class.

Student Concerns About Large Lecture Classes

One of the concerns that many students have with large lecture classes is that they will not get to know their professor. This is particularly problematic for those students who feel, rightly or wrongly, that they do better when they feel they know the instructor and that the instructor knows them as an individual. Because many communication classes deal with issues that have personal relevance and because many communication instructors have good communication skills, an educational setup that mutes the strengths of the communication instructor and/or the communication class may seem particularly problematic. In response to this concern, it needs to be noted that many students in the large lecture class may not have personal contact with the instructor. However, that need not be the case for all students. It is still possible to go to an instructor's office, to ask questions and to make a personal connection. "Talking" to the instructor via email is also another option, particularly if that conversation is followed up by personal, face-to-face contact of some sort. Even if the connection is minimal, this usually helps to lessen the feelings of alienation that many students have in the large lecture setup.

Another concern that many students voice is that they won't get to know the other students in the class, particularly if the typical mode of delivery is listening to lectures from the instructor. Although it may be impossible to get to know everyone in class, it is possible to get to know some people. That can occur in several ways. One way is for the instructor to have a few class days during the semester when there are breakout groups, where students can have communication with one another about course content. In a class where there are a variety of majors, students can be grouped by

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college or major, so that students with similar concerns and interests can meet. Or students can be randomly assigned to groups, for either face-to-face small group discussions or online exercises, that meet outside of class to complete brief but focused tasks relevant to course content. Students can be assigned to online chats dealing with several concepts relevant to course content, both as a way to understand what others think of the content and as a way of making a personal connection with others in class. Or, finally, students can be encouraged to form study groups, to, again, study course content as well as make personal connections. In the end, instructors will probably have to acknowledge that even when most students meet a limited number of their classmates, the class can still be a positive experience.

A third concern voiced by many students is that the lack of class discussion will hinder their development and/or understanding of the materials; another variation on this concern is that the lack of class discussion will affect the student's grade. For those students who do best in a highly discussive environment, large lecture classes may be a challenge. However, the class does not to focus entirely on the giving of and listening to lectures, provided that some help is available to the instructor. One way to have some discussions is to periodically schedule breakout sessions. This can be done every week if the structure of the class is large lecture/lab discussion. However, even when the class is conceived of as large lecture only, several small group discussions can bring a welcome relief from the mass lecture routine and can help students to feel more connected to the material and less anxious about their grade. In one semester, we scheduled six days where students were divided into six groups of 40 students. While Groups A, C, and E were responsible for writing short papers on an assigned topic, Groups B, D, and F reported to a one-time temporary location on campus where they had an often spirited discussion of pre-assigned topics relevant to the concerns of the course at that time. During the next breakout meetings, the people who were writing papers now became discussants and vice versa. With two helpers, it became possible to meet in small groups at least once with each students and it became possible to read at least one paper written by each student in class. When graduate students, either paid with money or units or available as volunteers, can be used, this structure works well to engage students. When graduate students are not available, trustworthy seniors who have already had the class can often be profitably utilized.

Students may be concerned about taking classes where there are so many students that testing occurs primarily through multiple-choice tests. When I taught the 240 student class alone, I had students do two short papers (about 2 pages) that gave me something else to evaluate besides objective exam questions. When I had graduate students to help, we had several short papers, an online chat, and three scheduled discussions, so there was more on which to grade than just multiple choice exams.

Some students are nervous about being just a number in a class. This seems to be of particular concern to communication students, who are used to a more personalized environment than large lecture classes typically foster. Although some of the strategies discussed above can ameliorate this feeling, it probably needs to be acknowledged that the large lecture format is going to mean that many of the students will not be known by name. Because of the sheer size of the class, it may not be possible to do some of the things that many of us do for the students as individuals. For example, I did not accept work submitted after published deadlines and I gave no makeup exams for any reason. I allowed for emergencies or unexpected occurrences during the semester by assigning four papers and counting three and by giving four exams and counting three of the exams in the student's grade. I did have a few students who requested individual, personalized arrangements, but most students were reasonably cooperative with course protocols. I also reminded students that the numbers being taught in this class helped make it possible for other classes they were taking to have lower minimum enrollments; although this did not help with every student, most students were able to weigh this fact against the decreased personalization in the course.

Other students express concerns about how the technology that is inevitably used in large lecture classes will affect them. It may be something as simple as being able to see the instructor clearly on monitors or hearing the instructor if a microphone is used. In the case of classes that I have taught, the concern has been with using email and online technology to deliver assignments, receive feedback, and get information about any changes in course schedules. This has actually turned out to be the easiest concern to address. Some semesters we had a paid or volunteer graduate student who randomly assigned numbers for the purpose of posting exam results and/or was available to help students learn what they needed to learn to use the chat function of a program like First Class, to send their papers electronically to their instructor, and/or retrieve posted feedback on papers or discussions. Regularly scheduled university lab instruction was also very helpful in getting students familiar with the necessary technology. 95% of the students were up and running within the first month. A few students needed additional attention but most became sufficiently comfortable to do what needed to be done.

Student and Faculty Concerns About Large Lecture Classes

Several concerns seem to be equally shared by students and faculty. Both seem concerned about the inevitable rude student or students who crop up in large lecture classes. Students were concerned that rude fellow students would make it difficult to listen to lectures and learn the material; faculty used to fairly civilized behavior in small classes may be unaccustomed to dealing with students whose individual behaviors may become more brazen in a large lecture setting. Both concerns are legitimate but are ones that can be lessened, even if not solved completely. Having overheads as class outlines or having class outlines available on line or in purchasable packets helps to keep student attention focused. If the large lecture situation is noisy, students need to be encouraged to be thoughtful of their classmates; if that doesn't work, interested students need to be encouraged to sit up front. In the setting where the sole instructor does not know all of the students by name, it is possible to have students behave rudely who might be less likely to do so when they know their face and name are connected; in a team-taught situation, where at least one of the instructors knows the student by name and is responsible for grading him/her, this problem is usually less likely to occur. Students who aren't mature enough to handle the large lecture class need to be encouraged to leave. However, ultimately, it is important to create an environment where the instructor and the students manage the classroom environment, i.e., students need to understand that they have a responsibility to help create the learning environment that they want.

In addition to the above shared concern, giving and getting grades and submitting and returning assignments are concerns for both students and faculty, as is the setup and guidelines for exams. Submitting papers can be time consuming but not nearly as time consuming as returning papers for a faculty member that is the sole instructor; when the class has small breakout groups, collecting and returning materials ceases to be a problem. Students want feedback, even when they are in a class of 200+ students, but it may not be possible for an instructor to give extensive individual comments. Getting grade information back to the students can also be accomplished. For example, if a random three or four digit number is assigned, then grades can be sent out electronically and students can see their grade by referring to their assigned number. Scores on papers can be posted electronically, with brief comments to give each student some feedback; more feedback can be given if the instructor is part of a team or has teaching assistants or graduate assistants to help with the grading. Grades can also be posted with the assigned number outside the classroom of the large lecture or on the faculty member's door.

Finally, both students and faculty may question whether there is pedagogical value to large lecture classes. This is a difficult question to answer, unless the class is taught in a large lecture format and a "regular" format and then results are compared. However, even if large lecture classes are not preferable to smaller classes, for the vast majority of students and faculty, they may be perceived to be at least acceptable when they allow other classes to maintain smaller enrollment. And they may even be desirable when course content is interesting and delivered in an effective way and student and faculty concerns are addressed.

Faculty Concerns About Teaching Large Lecture Classes

Although many of the student concerns are also concerns for faculty teaching large lecture classes, many faculty have additional concerns about these kinds of teaching assignments. Many of these concerns revolve around physical issues that must be addressed when teaching a large lecture class. For those instructors who create a conversational learning environment, teaching a large lecture class may necessitate adjustments. Some instructors need to learn to speak louder, and may even decide to use a microphone which helps to project the voice but which may restrict physical movement. If an instructor needs to write on the board, he/she will need to learn to write larger, so that what is written can be seen in the back of the room. In that same vein, subtle nonverbal signals may need to be magnified to carry to the back of the room. Additionally, when an overhead is used to help students keep track of the progress of a lecture, many instructors feel that their movement is inhibited; in this case, having a packet of overheads for purchase can help free the instructor from being tied to the front of the room. One final physical concern is the larger energy drain that large lecture classes usually take on instructors, particularly when it is necessary to deal with rude or immature students. Thus, it may be necessary to marshall one's resources differently from what is typical with small, regular classes, perhaps going so far as to not talk to students about class issues before class, to give extra time to focus the thoughts and energy before class. And, focusing on those students who want to be there can help to keep the energy from flagging.

Psychologically, it may be difficult for many instructors to fully adjust to teaching classes where they don't know many of the names of the students they teach. Some of

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the students in a large lecture class will inevitably remain faceless and nameless. However, breaking the groups into small discussion groups means that an instructor can learn some names. Or, using the large lecture/lab format means that at least some students are know to each instructor by name, so that there are always some familiar faces in the crowd.

Curricularly, most instructors are concerned about how much material they can cover, particularly if the large lecture class is a prerequisite for other departmental offerings. Here is where placing some materials in a supplementary packet may be helpful. In the large lecture setting, it may not be possible to cover everything that would be covered in a smaller class setup. Additionally, most instructors need to be more organized in a large lecture class than they are in smaller classes, to lessen student confusion about course content and expectations.

Many faculty also are concerned about teaching a large lecture class, even when a teaching assistant or graduate assistant is available. This concern is often justified, since a mediocre helper may be more trouble than he/she is worth. On the other hand, an assistant who received training and is given clear expectations may be crucial to the success of a large lecture class. Even so, I think it is important to be extremely clear with the assistant as to what the time and responsibility expectations are, so that the student doesn't feel exploited and the instructor doesn't feel resentful when the assistant isn't positively impacting the workload. It may even be advisable to have a written contract, to hopefully lessen misunderstandings.

Finally, there are political issues that arise with the teaching of large lecture classes which may be exacerbated if a faculty member is part time, temporary, or untenured. Some faculty find that they are pressured to teach large numbers but to structure the course as if it were being taught to small numbers of students. Often students and administrators are allied in their desire to have the course be more than multiple choice exams but often administrators are unwilling to put any additional resources into the class to make such curricular options possible. When these pressures occur, it is important, even if difficult, to remind the department that the large lecture format precludes doing everything that would be done in a small, normal-sized class.

Another political issue is what kind of loading is given to a large lecture class. At some universities, there needs to be 75 students in a class before the class counts as double; in some universities, 200+ students only counts as two classes. Again, this is a tough issue that may be difficult to address with a department but one that is an important component of faculty satisfaction with teaching large lecture classes.

Surviving the Large Lecture Class

Teaching large lecture classes can be an exciting experience or can be an energy-draining nightmare. Whether such experiences are positive or negative depends, to some degree, on both student and instructor satisfaction with both the content and relational dimensions of this instructional format. This paper has attempted to examine this important educational phenomenon by addressing student and instructor concerns about large lecture classes and by providing possible solutions to concerns. Although many instructors and many students may prefer smaller classes, it is possible to learn in a large lecture format, provided that concerns such as those discussed in this paper are addressed.

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Running Head: Four Gender Equity Models

Four Gender Equity Models and Why They Matter to Mass Communications Education

Paper presented August, 2000
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Abstract:

Four Gender Equity Models and Why They Matter to Mass Communications Education

With women comprising the majority in mass communications classrooms, "gender equity" in education must be a priority for mass communications educators. This essay provides a general review of the issues. First it critiques four "gender equity" models--"equal," "equitable," "fair," and "affirmative"--and then it examines how these models relate to mass communications education. Finally it suggests a classroom "gender equity" audit and offers some practical strategies for developing a "sex affirmative" mass communications learning environment.

key words: communication, education, gender equity, mass media

Four Gender Equity Models and Why They Matter to Mass Communications Education

Females have made up the majority of mass communications students for over 20 years (Becker, Kosicki, Hammatt, Lowrey, Shin & Wilson, 1999; Kosicki & Becker, 1998), yet rarely are these women the focus of mass communications discussion and research. Other pressing diversity issues have occupied our attention, such as: representations of women and minorities in the media and in media careers, the status of women and minority faculty, and Standard 12 diversity compliance for the Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Paralleling feminist critiques noting the absence of women's voices and experiences in "knowledge," so, too, have the majority of our constituents in mass communications education failed to capture our scholarly imaginations, despite their overwhelming presence in our classrooms. This lapse should be cause for concern among mass communications educators, if not ethically, in terms of social justice, then professionally, given the possibility of our field becoming another under-valued pink-collar ghetto like so many female-dominated endeavors. Seven years ago Ramona Rush (1993) passionately argued, "If those of us in higher education and the media professions make a systemic and systematic commitment to equity we could arrive in the 21st century being all that we can be" (pp.71-71). Let us not overlook our female students in this mission, even as several members of AEJMC's Commission on the Status of Women prepare to update the landmark 1972 study on women in mass communications education (Rush, Oukrop & Ernst, 1972). In this essay, I revisit "gender equity" in education to inspire a new commitment to activism and intervention on behalf of the women we educate.

Below I engage the education literature to demonstrate how a communication perspective problematizes the logic and language of "gender equity." First, I review "gender equity" as a general education issue and then more specifically as a mass communications education issue. Next I frame "gender equity" as a discursive problem emerging from a particular history. I distinguish four "gender equity" models that have applied in education research: "equal," "equitable," "fair," and "affirmative." Put simply, "equal" has meant treating girls like boys; "equitable" has meant treating girls like girls, meaning as second-class students; "fair" has meant making invisible sexism visible; while "affirmative" education, valuing girls, remains an illusive goal. The result is four very different visions of "gender equity." Next I review the literature on classroom learning environment to see how the issues become framed as problems of "equality." Finally I suggest a classroom "gender equity" audit and offer some practical strategies for developing a sex affirmative learning environment. If we are to empower all our students to make mass communications classrooms their own, without sacrificing anyone's else's right knowledge, then it is imperative to understand how varying concepts of "gender equity" expand or narrow the possibilities for progressive change and social justice--both in our classrooms and, later, among mass communications professionals.

"Gender Equity" In Education and Mass Communications Education

"Gender equity" in U.S. education, affecting half the student population, has never enjoyed wide public support or systematically been enforced in spirit or letter. Sex discrimination in education became illegal in 1972 when Congress passed Title IX of the Educational Amendments to the Civil Rights Act. At its word, Title IX states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied benefits of or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Under the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, Title IX covers any program or activity housed in an institution that receives any federal funds. (See "Appendix" for a selected timeline of civil rights legislation and court rulings affecting girls and women in education.)

Yet, despite 28 years of research and recommendations since Title IX's passage, "gender equity" has remained a marginal, though highly contested, education issue. "Gender equity" supporters continue to observe systematic sex/gender disparities and/or biases in: professional and career education; math, science, and technology education; standardized testing; athletics; sexual harassment policies; treatment of student sexuality and parenting; curriculum and instructional materials; and classroom interaction (National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education, 1997). Detractors argue that gender discrimination data are unreliable and don't generalize. Some believe that "equal access" to coeducation rendered "gender equity" moot. Many Title IX critics feel that Title IX not only hasn't helped female students but also has hurt male students.

During the same period, a national education reform movement calling for increased educational standards and teacher accountability has virtually ignored sex/gender issues since it began in 1983 with the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, A Nation at Risk (1983) (American Association of University Women, 1991, 1992, 1998a, 1998b; Applegate, 1998; Wheeler, 1993). Teacher education, by and large, does not teach gender issues; students resist studying gender; and professors feel uninformed and ill-equipped to deal with the resistance "gender equity" discussions generate (Bartsch, Daniel, Golombisky, Kimmel, Ogren & Rosselli, 1999; Campbell & Sanders, 1997; Griffin, 1997; Lundeberg, 1997; Sardo-Brown, 1995). Education research and training, grounded in social science and resistant to critical pedagogies, rarely addresses social constructionism, the symbolic nature of language and communication, or critical, queer, and feminist theories. Furthermore, third wave feminisms, providing absolutely necessary reminders of diversities among women, are notably absent in the rare pockets of educational equity advocacy occurring in U.S. universities. However, we do know consistent classroom intervention does decrease gender stereotyping and increase positive attitudes toward "gender equity" among students and teachers (Biklen & Pollard, 1993; Carelli, 1988; Cole, 1989; Froschl & Sprung, 1988; Klein, 1985; Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Taus, 1992; Wheeler, 1993).

Meanwhile, mass communications programs have experienced a continuous increase in the number of female students. In 1998, mass communications education awarded 63% of bachelor's degrees, nearly 62% of master's degrees, and nearly 53% of doctorate degrees to women (Beck et al., 1999). Women first became the majority in mass communications undergraduate programs in 1977 (Kosicki & Becker, 1998) and finally outnumbered men as mass communications doctorate recipients in 1997-98 (Becker et al., 1999). "Women dominate enrollments at all levels of journalism and mass communications and are more dominant than in other fields, on average, at the university" (Becker et al., 1999, p. 66). However, the implications of this female majority for our degree-granting programs have not been regularly evaluated.

Women's issues and female undergraduate students have been addressed only sporadically in mass communications education literature. (See, for example, Creedon, 1993; Egan, 1991; Luthra, 1996; Morton, 1993). Female graduate students in mass communications find sexual harassment in their departments a real threat, but they are more concerned with other more subtle forms of sexism: "Among other things, many respondents wrote that such discrimination exists in the form of 'incredible pay inequity, denial of teaching equipment and facilities, denial of research and travel funds'; and that, according to another respondent, 'the attention of the professors is routinely focused on male graduate students, while the majority of women work in isolation'" (Andsager, Bailey & Nagy, 1997, pp. 41-42). Scholarly discussions of feminist and critical pedagogies in mass communications education are conspicuously absent in mainstream mass communications literature, except for Luthra's (1996) excellent, albeit brief, theoretical summary.

Multiculturalism and diversity in the curriculum have been addressed (Bramlett-Solomon & Liebler, 1999; Cohen, Lombard & Pierson, 1992; Dickson, 1993, 1995; Edwards, 1992; Hon, Weigold & Chance, 1999; Kern-Foxworth & Miller, 1993; Manning-Miller, 1993; Rawitch, 1996). However, "diversity" and "multicuralism" tend to be code for race and ethnicity, often to the exclusion of sex/gender. Nevertheless, we are concerned with our inability to attract appropriately proportionate ratios of students of color, of boths sexes, into our degree programs (Becker et al., 1999; Dickson, 1995; Kern-Foxworth & Miller, 1993; Kosicki & Becker, 1998; Liebler, 1993; Morton, 1993). Additionally, graduate students are not being taught how to integrate diversity issues into their own teaching, and women and part-time faculty are more likely to introduce diversity issues into mass communications courses (Endres & Lueck, 1998).

When it comes to the status female and minority faculty in mass communications, 1990s scholars also have been justifiably concerned (Dickson, 1995; Dupagne, 1993; Hon et al., 1999; Morton, 1993; Rush, 1993). Despite the "feminization" of mass communications education (Beasley & Theus, 1988), the threat of mass communications becoming a "velvet ghetto" has only been addressed for public relations sequences (Toth, 1989; Zoch & Russel, 1991), and, even then, female PR faculty resist discussing the possibility (Zoch & Russel, 1991).

"Gender equity" must be a priority for mass communications education. We must educate ourselves, our colleagues, and our graduate students in order to give our female students what they need to be successful after graduation. Our job is to prepare our majority female students, in all their diversity, not only for entering their professional fields but also for entering them as women. We must give them the tools to be strong, full of a sense of their worth and rights while cognizant of the realities they will face, such as work/family concerns, gendered communication and management styles, and, sadly, inevitable sexism. We must instill in them a moral mission of leadership to struggle for diversity and inclusion in their own fields as well as on behalf of the publics they serve. We ourselves must try to be exemplary role models. Above all, we must be careful that our efforts don't further marginalize the very women we're trying to help. Women's issues and needs are not "special," as in deviant or outside the mainstream; rather they are "different" from men's issues but still very much mainstream (Bell, Golombisky, Singh & Hirschmann, 2000).

The Discursive Logic of Gender Equity

In "gender equity" in education debates, I find a persistent faith in the rhetoric of "equality" to define social justice. However, few have noticed that how equality is defined, and then how it is practiced, varies dramatically. Here, rather than supporting or dismissing "data" on girls' and women's "equality," I engage "gender equity" in education as a communication problem. What, exactly, do we mean by "gender equity"? What does it--or would it--look like in classrooms? Too often education has treated both "gender" and "equity" as concrete objects, but they are merely abstract ideas, which seem real through persistent use. The terms, "gender" and "equity," are metaphysical, defined inconsistently, and difficult to translate uniformly into material practice because the multiple sites encompassing "gender inequities" in school and at work are not all equivalent.

No one, however, has studied the historical assumptions driving "gender equity" as a discursive package of vocabulary, logic, and narratives. U.S. "gender equity" discourses evolve from a complexly woven fabric of Title IX's own meandering history of federal and state legislation, litigation, and policy -- all surprisingly related to national education reform, federal employment law, and the Civil Rights and Women's movements (Golombisky, 1998, 1999). None of these historical threads has sufficiently theorized a definition of female equality that doesn't somehow, first, erase differences among girls and women, and, second, either disable or erase females relative to males. I find two themes here: first, our inability to think of sexed/gendered difference as other than a greater or lesser status and, second, the belief that equality is a fact, rather than a negotiated, historically contingent set of relations and practices.

The "female" sex/gender, by virtue of its dialectic relationship to the "male," is not symbolically "equal" to the male sex/gender in our commonsense understanding of these words. Given the opposite/secondary cultural symbolism we attach to the female/feminine "gender," relative to the male, by what rules of behavior might we construe females as "equal"? Legal scholar Martha Minnow (1990) summarizes this as the "dilemma of difference": "when does treating people differently emphasize their differences and stigmatize or hinder them on that basis?" and "when does treating people the same become insensitive to their difference and likely to stigmatize or hinder them on that basis?" (p. 20). We do not have handy vocabularies for labeling relationships that are "different," but not greater or lesser. This is education's great contemporary paradox: how do we speak of students' "differences" differently? How might we construct a more efficacious, politically viable logic, discourse, and set of educational practices for our female mass communications students? I next explore the various ways we interpret the meaning of Title IX's "gender equity."

"Equal," "Equitable," "Fair," and "Affirmative" Approaches

In discussions of girls, women, education, and Title IX, four words frequently crop up: "equal" "equitable," "fair," and "affirmative." Sometimes the words are used synonymously. At other times, the specific choice of terms seems an intentional, though implicit, attempt at distinguishing some differences. I have yet to see the words explicitly operationalized in relationship to one another, however. Here I offer my own interpretation of some distinctions we can draw as "equal," "equitable," "fair," and "affirmative" relate to sex/gender and education. As with any typology, these categories are artificial, thus imperfect, but they do demonstrate a number of consistent, though mostly unconscious, philosophical differences in approaches to sex/gender discrimination in the classroom. "Equal" means equal access. "Equity" refers to separate-but-equal sex segregation. Sex "fair" means making invisible forms of sex discrimination visible and then implementing more "fair" practices according to girls' and women's specific needs. "Affirmative" is equivalent to "affirmative action." In fact, once established, these four models render the most frequently applied umbrella phrase, "gender equity," problematic even though it is the nomenclature for Title IX issues. Below I discuss each of these four models.

Before continuing, I also offer an explanation of my use of the words "gender" and "sex." Mostly I use the words together to indicate their inseparable relationship in the symbolic construction of two sexes and two genders. If used separately, "sex" will indicate female/male physiology and "gender" will indicate feminine/masculine cultural attributes, roles, and behaviors associated with "sex." Feminist and queer theories find this distinction highly suspect. "Sex" cannot precede "gender" because "sex" is always already a heterosexually "gendered" concept. Binary sex is predicated upon binary gender, and both binary "sex" and binary "gender" depend on compulsory heterosexuality. However, since "sex" as biology and "gender" as culture continue to hold some mainstream currency, and since this paper focuses on mainstream concepts of "equality," rather than constructions of gender or sex, I will let the questionable separation of "sex" from "gender" alone for present purposes.

Equal Education

"Equal" treatment generally refers to treating females exactly as males are treated. This philosophy assumes that educational standards for males are equally relevant for females and that females should be guaranteed the same rights as males to achieve those standards. This approach most often applies to "equal access" to schools, programs, classrooms, activities, and careers. The problem with this perspective is that if our classrooms are designed for an ideal white middle-class able-bodied heterosexual male student and if we privilege a curriculum in which females are absent or subordinated, then merely offering females equal access does not guarantee equal educational opportunities for females, whose very different material experiences are not represented. "The absence of women is not noted," writes Tetreault (1997, p. 150). "There is no consciousness that the male experience is a 'particular knowledge' selected from a wider universe of possible knowledge and experience" (Tetreault, 1997, p. 150).

Significantly, this criticism of sex-blind equality echoes race theory's critique of colorblind equality, which makes the material experiences of people of color disappear. For example, Gay (1997), in "Educational Equality for Students of Color," writes:

> Educational equality in the United States is popularly understood to mean the physical access of African Americans, Latino (sic), Asian Americans, and American Indians to the same schools and instructional programs as middle-class European American students. The prevailing assumption is that when these groups become students in majority schools, equal educational opportunity is achieved. Until recently little attention was given to the quality of the curriculum content and instructional processes as key factors in formulas for educational equity. (p. 195)

This similarity between both sex-based and race-based critiques of the "male-defined curriculum" (Tetreault, 1997) is not accidental. Sex discrimination legal scholars Lindgren and Taub (1993) note the relationship between Title IX at school and its legal antecedent, Title VI at work: "The language of Title IX parallels that of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits racial discrimination in programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance" (p. 277). Sex "equality," while a necessary tenet for opening educational opportunities formerly denied to girls and women, does not allow for girls' and women's differences and different experiences.

"Gender equity" in education issues and policies that, generally, have been guided by the "equality" model include: access to higher education, vocational and career training, math/science/technology education, standardized testing, and, oddly enough, sexual harassment. The thinking is that proportionate numbers of females and males should be engaging in the same academic and career pursuits. (Standardized testing and sexual harassment are more complex, as I will discuss shortly.) In other words, females must have "equal" access and opportunities to engage in postsecondary education and career training, especially in the areas of math, science, and technology, where women are under-represented. The difficulty comes when persistent cultural norms still align some career and academic tracks with masculinity, in opposition to femininity. Strong symbolic processes that gender curricula and careers themselves undermine policies promoting equal access. Nursing and education still attract more females than males, and, conversely, science and engineering still attract more males than females. Similar patterns exist in vocational education where women concentrate in clerical and allied health fields. Overall, the higher the wage range, the lower the participation of females compared to males. Conversely, lower skill-level and wage-range tracks attract more females than males (NCWGE, 1997). That males shun female, or pink-collar, fields illustrates a common problem with "equal" treatment: the female/feminine is still devalued. Once historically male-dominated fields become female-dominated--for example nursing, clerical work, and teaching--the fields themselves lose social prestige and salaries fail to remain competitive by male standards. So, while females may aspire upward mobility toward the male standard of equality through male privileges and prestige, males do not aspire downward toward the lesser female status in equivalent numbers. Nor does discussion ever suggest elevating the low status of pink-collar work. This predictable phenomenon has serious implications for mass communications education with its increasing female student body.

Standardized testing "equality" is a more complex topic. Standardized tests remain a sore point among women and other minorities since they are used to track students into courses of study, counsel students into career options, and determine students' potential for postsecondary success. Under Title IX, a standardized test must accurately measure what it says it will measure, and if one sex scores differentially, the test, technically, is discriminatory, thus illegal. The most blatant forms of testing sexism and racism, common in the 1960s, have disappeared. But more subtle biases remain in the form of these tests' vocabulary and choices of examples, among other things. In other words, they are culturally biased. Because testing services is a growth industry, testing companies actively continue to revise their tests fearing public embarrassment and loss of business, mostly in the form of government contracts. Nevertheless, bright females still score lower than bright males, especially in math subjects (Stanley, Benbow, Brody, Dauber & Lupowski, 1992), and gifted females are generally counseled away from high-income career choices (Rosselli, 1998; Walker, Reis & Leonard, 1992). Placement and admissions tests designed to indicate how students will perform in their first year of college still over-predict for white males and under-predict for all females; first-year female college students on average earn higher grades than white males, even though test scores predict the opposite (FairTest, 2000; Klein & Ortman, 1994; NCWGE, 1997). Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores last year showed a 43-point sex/gender gap, which has grown each year for the last three years; a similar gap occurs for African American, Latino, and new Asian immigrant students, although the testmakers themselves state that two students' scores must "differ by more than 125 points before they can reliably be said to be different" (FairTest, 2000). Still, according to the National Center for Fair and Open Testing, as many as 12,000 qualified women each year are excluded from flagship U.S. universities because of differential SAT scores (FairTest, 2000). New studies indicate students who are aware of racial and sex/gender test biases, and even those who are aware of broader societal sex/gender and racial stereotypes, score lower on SATs, a phenomenon called "stereotype vulnerability" (FairTest, 2000).

Yet testing may be one place where the mainstream may reject anything less than "equal" treatment. Separate testing, based on sex/gender, race, ethnicity, or class, is inconceivable, as is the idea of dramatically altering test content or form. Both strategies elicit protests of "dumbing down" education, another clue about the white male standard of educational excellence. Alternative evaluation measures or processes are not likely in the current political climate where states, under pressure to improve schools, find implementing mandatory standardized tests the quickest way to satisfy growing public demand for school accountability.

Sexual harassment, the educational "equality" issue that is--or should be--most significant to mass communications educators, also has been guided by an "access" model. Surprisingly, sexual harassment was argued into the law on the basis that victims of sexual harassment are deprived of "access." This legal argument first succeeded in the context of employment, then later was adapted to education. At the time Title IX passed, we had no concept of "sexual harassment." Not until after the courts recognized sexual harassment in the workplace was covered under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act did the courts later recognize sexual harassment in education under Title IX. Educators are doubly protected against sexual harassment under both Title VI and Title IX. School employees can sue their employers for sexual harassment, and school employees could be charged with sexually harassing students. Peer-based harassment, the most prevalent form, only became protected under Title IX in 1999.

In Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education (1999), the US Supreme Court reversed a judicial stance that previously refused to recognize student-to-student harassment. A 1993 American Association of University Women study found school-age girls more than boys reporting difficulties concentrating on school work after incidents of sexual harassment, and many of these girls also reported a desire to stay away from school because of harassment (AAUW, 1993). Paralleling these findings, Ivy and Hamlet's (1996) peer sexual harassment studies found that, for their college student respondents, classrooms were a primary site of peer sexual harassment, "with a general trend for women to view some behaviors as harassing and as more severe than men." Others have found similar patterns for graduate students (Andsager, Bailey & Nagy, 1997). Rosselli (1998) concludes, "These findings point to a silent crisis in schools that may still be reluctant to acknowledge the frequency and impact of sexual harassment on achievement" (p. 4). Educators too often shrug off harassing behavior as "boys will be boys," "flirting," or "no harm done" (Stein, 1979/1986, 1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b; Bogart & Stein, 1987). For "gender equity" advocates, the "hostile sexualized climate" at school includes this kind of teasing, any form of unwanted physical touching or sexual assault, as well as calling girls names associated with female anatomy, calling boys feminized or homophobic names, and any educator's response to harassing behavior that is less than swift and firm (Shakeshaft, 1993).

In the Davis ruling, however, the Supreme Court clearly distinguished a substantive difference between sexually harassing behavior and teasing: "Damages are not available for simple acts of teasing and name-calling among schoolchildren," wrote Justice Sandra Day O'Connor (Oppel, 1999, p. 1A), who led the court's majority opinion in a divided five-four decision. This divided decision exhibited an unusual and perhaps historic alignment of the high court's justices based, in part, on sex/gender (O'Connor shows, 1999). Drafting the dissenting opinion, Justice Anthony Kennedy sarcastically wrote, "After today, Johnny will find that the routine problems of adolescence are to be resolved by invoking a federal right to demand assignment to a desk two rows away" (Oppel, 1999, p. 1A).

> In an unusual display for the Supreme Court, Kennedy read extensively from his dissent during open session. O'Connor then departed from her written opinion to respond, saying concern for "little Johnny" should not drive "little Mary" from the classroom in tears. (Oppel, 1999, p. 1A)

The Davis decision, by adapting its wording to mirror Title IX's language, shows that school-based sexual harassment follows an equal access "equality" model. The sexual harassment must be "so severe, pervasive and objectively offensive that it can be said to deprive the victims of access (emphasis added) to the educational opportunities or benefits provided by schools" (Oppel, 1999, p. 4A).

While using the "equal access" argument originally may have been a politically expedient way to get the courts to recognize sexual harassment, the problem of defining what, exactly, constitutes sexual harassment, and by whose standards, has been an ongoing, highly fraught legal process. In 1991 two lower courts recognized a "reasonable woman" standard in defining sexual harassment by agreeing that a woman may recognize behavior as sexually offensive where a man may not (Ellison v. Brady, 1991; Robinson v. Jacksonville Shipyard, 1991). This was a stunning, unprecedented victory for women's rights advocates. Both decisions directly affected sexual harassment policies in education institutions. However, in 1993, the Supreme Court indicated its preference for a gender-neutral "reasonable person" standard in defining sexual harassment (Harris v. Forklift Systems, 1993). Predictable under critiques of the "equality" model, a different female perspective in matters of sexual harassment was subsumed under a universal standard, which always is gauged as a male norm.

Equitable Education

The next gender equity model, "equitable" treatment, assumes and makes allowances for fundamental differences between females and males. This approach closely corresponds to a "different cultures" perspective, which begins with the premise that U.S. girls and boys grow up in such different gender cultures that they, in essence, live in different worlds (Belenky et al., 1986; Gilligan, 1982) and speak different languages (Tannen, 1990, 1995). Interestingly, though, "gender equitable" schooling most often manifests in contexts where it is biologically sexed bodies that matter, such as athletics, where powerful social norms demand segregating the sexes. While separate-but-equal is now inconceivable in matters of race, U.S. courts interpret Title IX to support sex-segregated school athletics: "Unlike race segregation in schools," explain Lindgren and Taub (1993, p. 297), "the 'separate-but-equal' doctrine remains intact" for sex/gender issues.

The greatest problem with separate-but-equal strategies is that girls and women and their programs almost never achieve parity in head count or in resource allocation. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (1997) reported that women's intercollegiate athletics receive only "23 percent of athletic operating budgets, 38 percent of scholarship dollars, and 27 percent of the money spent to recruit new athletes" (NCWGE, 1997, p. 11). Girls' and women's sports mostly get the hand-me-down facilities/equipment and the second-best schedules (Henderson, Bialeschski, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996). Women coach less than 50 percent of women's teams and less than 2 percent of men's teams, although they coached 90 percent of all women's teams at the time Title IX passed (NCWGE, 1997). Once again, gender differences fall into a kind of thinking that still holds that males are the norm from which females deviate. Lindgren and Taub (1993) point to a number of key Title IX court rulings on women's sports in education where sex stereotypes manifest. They find four "convictions that pervade discussions of girls and women participating in athletic programs" (1993, pp. 297-298): (1) Females are not as naturally capable in athletics as males; (2) females are more fragile than males, thus more prone to sports injuries; (3) athletics "masculinize" females; and (4) "(p)eople are not interested in women's sports (Lindgren & Taub, 1993, pp. 297-298). Hence, not only are females and males constructed as different, but also females are somehow inferior. Furthermore, gender equity critics, especially sports enthusiasts, assert that in a period of limited educational resources, providing separate resources for girls means taking resources away from boys, which almost always translates as discriminating against boys.

In mass communications education, the dilemmas of sex "equity" generally have not been an issue because our classrooms are not segregated by sex. However, problems of disparate resource allocation associated with the sex "equity" model may become a greater concern if the numbers of women in mass communications classrooms increases to the point that the field in general becomes viewed as "women's work." Furthermore, "equity" has implications for mass communications educators training future media professionals. The same thinking that drives the courts, amateur and professional sports, and separate-but-equal education practices also emerges in mass media representations of female athletes and women's sports. "We are talking about how to educate the next generation of journalists, particularly sportswriters, about the frames their stories will provide for their audiences of what men and women can do in this culture, as well as what is appropriate--and what is not--for them to do" (Creedon, 1993, p. 50). Coverage of women's sports receives only a fraction of the time and space devoted to men's sports; women's sports air in the least desirable dayparts; and sports commentary often refers to female athletes as "girls" instead of women and tends to use trivialized and diminutive adjectives to describe women's competition (Creedon, 1993, 1994; Birrell & Cole, 1994).

Fair Education

Similar to sex "equity's" separate-but-equal approach, the third model, "sex-fair" education also makes allowances for differences between the sexes. A major departure, though, is that "sex-fair" education tends to assume that differences between females and males are more the result of girls' and women's discriminatory treatment at school than girls' and women's innate sex. So, unlike sex "equity's" unconscious male perspective, sex "fair" education recognizes girls' and women's experiences. Sex "fair" education begins with making these differential, but mostly invisible, experiences, perspectives, and practices visible and then offers girls fair alternatives to androcentric education, such as adopting cooperative learning models in lieu of competitive models in the classroom. "Gender equity" research pioneers Sadker and Sadker have used the phrase "sex fair" consistently since the 1970s. In their 1994 best-selling book, Failing at Fairness, the Sadkers note that "access" is not enough, but they stop short of defining "fair": "But an open-door policy does not by itself result in fair schools" (p. ix). Rather, the Sadkers (see for example, Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Sadker, Sadker & Long, 1997) more often imply that sex "fair" means eliminating gender-based stereotypes in curricular materials and training instructors to see the unconscious classroom practices that give males more and better instruction than females. (See also Orenstein, 1994, for a similar, although still implied, definition of sex "fair.")

The "sex fair" model does not always escape the sex "equity" model's gender hierarchy, either. Too often classroom "alternatives," such as gender-sensitive pedagogies, become framed as a kind of remedial or special education for females, who then become "exceptional" rather than "normative." For example, rather than critiquing competitive classroom pedagogies that privilege male socialization processes and culture, making pleas for "sex fair" education becomes a way of suggesting females by nature need extra, special or more classroom and course assistance than males. Ironically, in making its appeal for better treatment of pregnant and parenting students, the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education (NCWGE, 1997) adopts the language of disability in stating that "schools must treat pregnancy and related conditions no worse than they treat any other temporary disability" (p. 39). Pregnancy, a natural biological process for women, becomes framed as a "disability" in the context of education because male students, always the standard, do not experience it. Rather than accepting female reproduction as normal female experience, education frames pregnancy as a "problem" to accommodated. In fact, disability rights advocates face exactly the same issues of logic, language, and meaning. Note, for example, that even the language of "disabled" is a negative linguistic construction in opposition to "abled." Furthermore, others argue that making allowances for girls, such as failing to teach them how to be competitive, may de-skill them, instead of prepare them, for a world still run, for better or worse, mostly by men.

"Sex fair" education strategies are highly relevant to mass communications classrooms as I will discuss later in the section titled "Classroom Learning Environment."

Affirmative Education

A contrast between sex "fair" and sex "affirmative" appears at least as early as 1985 (Scott & Schau, 1985). In this distinction, sex "fair" materials and practices eliminate sex bias, a definition compatible with the Sadkers' use. But sex "affirmative" materials and practices privilege women, a rare education practice found only in women's studies programs (Klein & Ortman, 1994). Sometimes called "women's curriculum," sex "affirmative" education re-conceptualizes knowledge to encompass women's experiences in all their diversity (Tetreault, 1997). However, in mainstream education, sex "affirmation" more closely resembles affirmative action. The idea is to promote an ideal toward which society should strive. So, for example, while a "sex-fair" broadcast engineering text book would portray numbers of females and males that realistically mirror the ratio of their respective contributions to the field, in the fourth approach, a "sex-affirmative" text book would demonstrate equal numbers of females and males engaging in broadcast engineering as an exemplary ideal--even if males actually outnumber females in the field.

Like critics of affirmative action, critics of sex "affirmation" argue that in a world of finite school resources, sex "affirmation" is a zero-sum option; giving something to females automatically takes something away from males. As Cohen and his colleagues (1992) write:

> Some student members of the cultural majority arc uncomfortable in their impression that multicultural and feminist views can only be added to the curriculum if something else is taken away. Within the context of a zero-sum perception, these students believe they are being asked to pay for an increase in the legitimacy of multicultural and feminist views by accepting a decrease in the legitimacy of traditional cultural norms grounded in what is commonly referred to as a Eurocentric academic environment--academic code for the charge that white males of European ancestry dominate the scholarly landscape in the United States. (Cohen, Lombard & Pierson, 1992, p. 3).

Not only students, but also policy-makers, administrators, faculty, and other groups opposed to women's rights advocacy share this view. Additionally, an interesting phenomena occurs whenever female voices, bodies, or representations occur in equal numbers to males': Because such a thing is so incongruous to past experience, both females and males perceive that females are somehow given more voice, space, consideration, representation, or priority than males. Spender (1985) has called this the "male register," which posits that because we live in a society that systematically privileges the male and masculine, true sex/gender parity becomes a kind of experiential illusion of male/masculine discrimination.

Despite its rarity, sex affirmative strategies will become increasingly important to successful mass communications programs. As a male colleague of mine who teaches television broadcasting noted, "The fact that most of my students are women forces me to completely rethink what and how I teach from their point of view." Indeed, curricular content, differences in learning and communication styles, and the circumstances female students face after graduation should force us to rethink our courses and classrooms as mass communications educators. From sexual harassment to Felice Swartz's (1989) career "mommy track" and from gendered management styles (Tannen, 1995) to the legal issues of women's pay disparities, "sex-affirmative" education in mass communications may become less an option than a survival tactic.

These four perspectives, "equal," "equitable," "fair," and "affirmative," are not applicable in every educational setting, nor are they always interchangeable. None is perfectly suited to address every situation, and some contexts may require employing more than one model simultaneously. In the 28 years since congress passed Title IX, "Equal" treatment under a male standard has increased opportunities for females to go to college--and enter mass communications professions. But it doesn't force difficult questions about why males and females enter some career tracks in unequal ratios or why males outnumber females at upper management levels, nor why male-dominated fields have more prestige than female-dominated fields. "Equitable" treatment in practice often means second-class treatment, as when sports media argue that they can't equally support women's sports because fans, including women, just aren't as interested as they are in men's sports. This observation often results not only in excusing discriminatory treatment but also in reasoning that females just aren't natural athletes--like males. "Sex-fair" strategies also tend to reinforce existing inequities, such as the textbook that realistically portrays the greater numbers of males in a particular discipline but simultaneously seems to communicate to all students that males are better suited to that discipline. "Sex-affirmative" strategies, like affirmative action, invite charges of reverse discrimination, a kind of mathematical logic that makes adding resources, representation, or programs for females an automatic subtraction from males. Furthermore, "gender equity" public rhetoric and scholarly research rarely operationalize which "gender equity" models are being employed, and these models may shift from one context to another as well as mid argument in the same context. Nevertheless, although I have problematized the phrase "gender equity," I will continue to use it--under caution--to refer to the general topic of sexism in education.

As a review of the sex/gender issues most relevant to our day-to-day teaching activities in mass communications, I next discuss the classroom learning environment, including hidden curriculum, instructional materials, and classroom interaction.

Classroom Learning Environment

Hidden Curriculum

Until Title IX, few thought to examine curriculum or teaching practices for sex or gender discrimination. Since then, we have learned much about sex discrimination and gender bias in schools, a topic referred to as the "hidden," "informal," "symbolic," or "latent" curriculum because its systematically teaches lessons about double-standards for girls and boys. Hidden curriculum also refers to the differing educational goals and standards that schools inadvertently apply to students who depart from the assumption of a white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual male student. Banks (1997) defines the "latent curriculum" as what "no teacher explicitly teaches but that all students learn" (p. 24). Nieto (1996) writes, "Hidden curriculum refers to those subtle and not-so-subtle messages that, although not part of the intended curriculum, may nevertheless have an impact on students" (p. 42). Sadker, Sadker, and Long (1997) write that the hidden gender curriculum, beginning the first day of school, teaches all students "that females are less important and less significant in our society than males" (p. 134). Mass communications education is no less subject to these unconscious messages than any other educational setting. Understanding the hidden curriculum and evaluating our own classrooms and practices is imperative.

Instructional Materials

The earliest efforts at Title IX compliance focused on cleansing, fixing, balancing or rewriting educational texts and literature to purge them of sexist portrayals of females--that is, where portrayals of females existed at all--and focused on adding positive examples of female authors, histories, and characters where formerly there were none (Heintz, 1987; Paul, 1996; Potter & Rosser, 1992; Vaughn-Roberson, 1989). Today, though, it is still not difficult to find examples of instructional materials, texts, literature, videos, software, supplementary materials, handouts, and even classroom decor such as posters all portraying sexist or trivialized images of females--or completely omitting females, their experiences, and perspectives (Bland, 1995; Huff & Cooper, 1987; Klein & Ortman, 1994; Sardo-Brown, 1995; Shakeshaft, 1993; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Having less to do with issues of "equal" access than of representation, correctives for sexist curriculum content include either realistically representative "sex fair" or idealist "sex affirmative" models. Mass communications educators must examine their texts for representations of sex, race, ethnicity, dis/ability, and even sexual orientation. They also must look for "affirmative" texts and urge publishers to be more proactive on behalf of the students they serve. Additionally, more systematic content analysis of mass communications texts is in order. Hanson's (1999) research on basic speech communication texts finds "the casual undergraduate student...would come away with the impression that public speaking is something that men do" (p. 15). Mass communications research has no equivalent current research; we don't know what our texts are telling students.

Language, too, teaches students lessons about the subordinate status of females. "If a girl always hears that 'he' means everyone, while 'she' means females only, that girl is learning that females are less important than males," writes Shakeshaft (1993, p.89). Even language's "gender-neutral" forms, such as the use of plural "they" for "he"/"she" or the use of "humans" instead of "men," still communicates girls' and women's invisibility, thus unimportance, in the same way that their absence in textbooks does. Furthermore, supposedly gender-neutral forms of language, such as firefighter and flight attendant, used to replace gendered words like fireman and stewardess, actually continue to signify sex and gender because their associations with gendered divisions of labor remain so strong. Firefighters still conjure images of men, and flight attendants, women. Gender neutrality as an anti-sexist strategy, while not specifically aligning under any of the four "gender equity" models, shares similar problems with the "equality" model in that gender neutrality assumes that un-gendered forms of language equally represent both females and males and their experiences. But gender neutral language, like anti-sexist admissions policies, isn't necessarily "fair" or "affirmative" for girls and women. Simply opening a door formerly closed to females--whether that door opens into language or into a mass communications classroom--doesn't mean one feels welcome. In my classroom, when I use feminines as universals or list feminine pronouns first, I know I will evoke facial expressions of surprise. For my female students, that surprise over time becomes pleasure and pride--a form of "sex affirmation." They begin to do the same, I note in their assignments. Sometimes male students resist. Once in a while a negative comment appears on my end-of-semester evaluations. "Too much emphasis on gender," a someone will write. Spender's (1985) male register at work.

Classroom Interaction

Educators also unwittingly contribute to this informal curriculum of sexism. Since the late 1960s, the Sadkers have published substantial research documenting the ways teachers unconsciously treat male and female students differently. Before Myra Sadker died of breast cancer in 1995, the Sadkers published their last major work together, Failing at Fairness (1994), which describes typical classroom practices: instructors call on males more often than females, ask males more difficult questions than females, allow males to take more time to answer questions than females, allow males to rethink and respond to incorrect answers more than females. This pattern of disparate treatment persists through college and generally comes from a very subtle, mostly unconscious social norm that makes putting females "on the spot" feel inappropriate, even cruel, to instructors. Additionally, males blurt out answers eight times more than females, who wait silently with their hands raised in larger numbers. The Sadkers call this "blue arm" because the raised hand usually goes numb from lack of blood flow before the female student is called on. Educators also generally enforce rules for being polite more stringently for females than for males, whose behaviors, such as blurting out answers without being called on, are excused more often as assertive masculine behavior. Over time, females internalize these implicit codes of classroom behavior so that by the time they reach college classrooms, they police themselves, and many have become silent observers. This hidden curriculum regarding classroom interaction and behavior allows males to participate more actively in their learning. At the same time, instructors perceive males as more physical than females. As instructors we may reinforce sex/gender stereotypes by asking male students for assistance associated with strength, such as lugging in TV/VCR carts. "Even teachers who are aware of the importance of treating females and minorities fairly do not realize that their actions are most likely to benefit White boys" (Klein & Ortman, 1994, p. 17).

Just as disturbing, when working together in groups, males dominate females and females defer to males (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). "Other studies have suggested that boys in small groups usually receive help from girls when they ask for it, while boys often ignore girls' requests for help" (Sardo-Brown, 1995, p. 22, citing Wilkinson et al, 1985). Others, including the Sadkers, note that competition in the classroom--for teacher attention, for having the right answer, and for getting the highest grades--benefits males, who at a young age already have been socialized to enjoy one-up-manship as a kind of sport. White females learn to equate competition with conflict, a social taboo for white women, and so in the classroom are more likely to opt out of participating if they can. Shakeshaft (1993) writes, "The 'I win, you lose' philosophy is seldom questioned, is constantly reinforced in classrooms and on playing fields, and, according to some (Gilligan, Lyons, and Hammer 1989), is not the best environment for girls" (Shakeshaft, 1993, p. 88). Perhaps most disturbing, most of our classroom interaction data does focus on white girls, although most people interested in the subject acknowledge the need for more research on girls and women of different ethnic, racial, socio-economic backgrounds, as well as those with disabilities or who speak English as a second language.

Teaching methods focusing on "cooperative learning" allow small groups of students to work through assignments and learning activities together. Evidence suggests that girls and women do especially well in cooperative learning groups (Klein & Ortman, 1994; Rosselli, 1998), a "sex-fair" strategy. But these tactics work only if teachers are sensitive to the ways that females, for example, allow males to assume leadership roles in small group exercises and interaction, while girls act as observers and secretarial recorders. Even diversity-sensitive teachers also must have strategies for ensuring that all participants actively contribute to the cooperative learning group. Other strategies include allowing students to write down their responses to lecture questions before replying, which insures that students who like or need more time to process have a chance to participate in discussions.

Conducting a classroom audit can provide instructors, even feminist instructors, with astounding information about unconscious patterns of classroom communication. Talk-time tallies are the simplest approach to finding out where the hot pockets in the classroom are located. On a seating chart, make a hash mark every time a student speaks in class. Even more useful is to ask a graduate student to sit in the class with a stopwatch to time how long each student speaks. The numbers quickly dispel inaccurate perceptions.

Once I sat in on a class talk-time tally for a colleague. The class felt a bright female student spoke more often and longer than any other student. In fact, the class really was angered by its perception of her dominating the group discussion. The group was amazed to learn that in reality, two other male students had spoken twice as often and twice as long as the female student--further demonstration of Spender's (1985) male register at work. Another useful demonstration is "paying to speak." Each student receives three chits at the beginning of the class period and is asked "spend" them all before the end of the session. Suddenly new, formerly silent voices emerge, and other more talkative voices become more careful about when and what to contribute. Although painful to watch, a video of classroom interaction also can instruct professors on where they tend to focus their attention in the classroom, where their "cool" neglected areas are, and how small groups are interacting during classroom activities. These strategies may feel awkward at first, but when integrated into the course as routine, they can make the classroom a more "affirmative" place for everyone.

Conclusion

From kindergarten through graduate school, and from hidden curriculum to athletics, Title IX has done much to improve the conditions under which girls and women attend school. But the law also has become a lightning rod for a series of complex and not always related debates about what is feasible, fair, and just for schools to do on behalf of girls without discriminating against boys. Most of the time, public debate overlooks the complexity of the subject, or assumes a single simple approach will solve the problem completely if only educators could discover or invent it.

Although as a society we assume the right to and necessity of education, we tend to overlook the fact that we continually refine our definitions of both education's purpose and content. This process is always nuanced by the systematic but often invisible ways we gender the world as well as our differing expectations for students based on their sex/gender. Examining the difficulties we have determining what comprises "gender equity" at school demonstrates the rift between gendered language and material practice. "Equal" treatment turns females into theoretical males and measures equal access to education without accounting for other forms of institutional sexism or hidden curricula. "Equitable" and "fair" approaches attempt to account for female differences but tend to excuse disparate resources and treatment for females based on those differences. "Affirmative" approaches, a kind of affirmative action for females, trigger charges of reverse discrimination against males. This perception of male discrimination occurs because if males are the implicit normative student, then all practices will be gauged by their perspective.

I agree with Dale Spender (1982) when she writes:

> Educational equality for women will have been achieved when women's experience is accepted by society as equally valuable and valid as that of men, when half the knowledge that is available is generated by women and about women, when women are half the "government of education", and when women's ideas about education are equally viable and equally implemented with those of men. (p.39)

My fear is that too many mass communications classrooms don't get past "equal" access, that there is not enough sensitivity to women's issues, that there is even hostility toward discussing the possibility that we are not being as "affirmative" as we could be. I fear that "gender equity" is perceived as a "marginal" issue relegated a few committed, over-worked mass communications feminists, but by and large not relevant to "real" mass communications scholarship. More than half of our students beg to differ.

Appendix:

Timeline of Selected Civil Rights Law Changes Affecting Girls and Women in Education

1954	U.S. Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education makes racially segregated schools illegal.
1963	Equal Pay Act requires equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.
1964	Civil Rights Act forbids employer discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. "Sex" was added only as an unsuccessful attempt to block the bill's passage.
1965	Elementary and Secondary Education Act begins massive infusion of federal funds into public schools.
1968	Bilingual Education Act funds pilot programs targeting English-as-second-language students.
1972	Title VII of Civil Rights Act is amended to cover schools and public employers.
	Title IX of Educational Amendments of Civil Rights Act forbids sex discrimination in education "programs or activities" receiving federal funds.
1973	Rehabilitation Act forbids discrimination based on disability.
1974	Women's Educational Equity Act establishes "WEEA" to combat sex bias in education.
1975	Age Discrimination Act forbids discrimination based on age.
	Education for all Handicapped Children Act requires public education to accommodate handicapped children.
1976	Vocational Education Equity Act forbids discrimination in vocational education.
	Education Amendments aim to eliminate sex discrimination, bias, and stereotyping in education.
1978	Title VII protects against pregnancy discrimination at work.
	WEEA is re-authorized.
1979	U.S. Supreme Court: Cannon v. University of Chicago rules individuals, in addition to government, can sue under Title IX.
1980	"New" WEEA encourages Title IX enforcement.
1982	U.S. Supreme Court: North Haven v. Bell rules Title IX covers school employees in addition to students.
1983	Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), specifying equal rights for women, dies in Congress.

1984 U.S. Supreme Court: Grove City College v. Bell , in effect, reverses Title IX.

"Newest" WEEA is re-authorized emphasizing educational equity for girls and women at risk for multiple forms of discrimination.

Carl D. Perkins Vocational Act funds vocational training for girls and women.

1986 U.S. Supreme Court: Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson rules employees can sue hostile environment sexual harassment under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

1988 Civil Rights Restoration Act restores Title IX to cover any educational program or activity receiving any federal assistance.

WEEA is re-authorized.

1990 Disabilities Act updates Rehabilitation Act.

1991 Civil Rights Act amends Title VII to allow plaintiffs to collect damages (including for sexual harassment) and reinstates protections threatened by Supreme Court rulings.

Two lower courts: Ellison v. Brady; Robinson v. Jacksonville Shipyards accept "reasonable woman" standard in sexual harassment cases; a "reasonable woman" may construe harassment where a "reasonable man" may not.

1992 U.S. Supreme Court: Franklin v. Gwinnett Co. Schools Under Title IX, students claiming sexual harassment (from school employees) may seek damages.

1993 U.S. Supreme Court: Harris v. Forklift Systems indicates Court prefers a "reasonable person" standard in sexual harassment cases.

1996 Title IX funds to states are eliminated by Congress.

WEEA is funded to continue operations.

1999 U.S. Supreme Court: Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education rules schools are responsible and liable for protecting students from student-to-student sexual harassment under Title IX.

Court Cases (Chronological Order)

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

Cannon v. University of Chicago, 99 S. Ct. 1946 (1979).

North Haven v. Bell, 102 C. Ct. 1912 (1982).

Grove City College v. Bell, 104 S. Ct. 1211 (1984).

Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson, 106 S. Ct. 2399 (1986).

Ellison v. Brady, 924 F.2d 872 (1991).

Robinson v. Jacksonville Shipyards, 760 F.Supp. 1486 (1991).

Franklin v. Gwinnett County Schools, 112 S.Ct. 1028 (1992).

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Running Head: public speaking in advertising

Integrating Public Speaking into the Advertising Curriculum

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ABSTRACT

Integrating Public Speaking into the Advertising Curriculum

Presentations are an inevitable and crucial part of the advertising business. Yet advertising education does not emphasize effective public speaking skills. This essay first argues the need for advertising students to develop presentation skills and then shares a method for integrating public speaking into advertising courses without "crowding out" traditional advertising content. Following "writing across the curriculum" programs, "speaking across the curriculum" provides a model for incorporating oral communication skills into advertising courses.

Key Words: advertising education, oral communication, public speaking

Integrating Public Speaking into the Advertising Curriculum

Recently, my advertising copy students said they were put off by the number of times a guest speaker said "OK," "um," and "uh." Last spring, another group of advertising students had as much to say about presentation skills as they did strategy and creative after observing district competition of the American Advertising Federation's National Student Advertising Competition. I credit these students for tuning in to the not-so-mysterious features of a great presentation. They have learned to value that spark of electricity that passes between speaker and audience in a well-prepared, well-rehearsed, and well-executed presentation.

When CEO Scott McNeally banned Microsoft PowerPoint at Sun Microsystems a few years back, it wasn't just because of a rivalry with Bill Gates. Relying on technology bells and whistles to carry a presentation can be a career stopper. "Try to imagine the 'I have a dream' speech in PowerPoint," says Cliff Nass, Stanford communication professor (Numberg, 1999). Body language, eye contact, voice, visual aid management, and content, among other things, separate "pros" from "amateurs," my students reported after the AAF competition.

From presenting their portfolios in job interviews to pitching new accounts, advertising students will need strong presentation skills. Every "big idea" eventually has to be presented. But public speaking isn't emphasized in the advertising curriculum. In my experience, advertising students who have elected to take a public speaking course--significant numbers in my classes (50-75%)--still have to be taught the connection between making speeches and the "real world" of advertising.

In this essay I argue the need for a public speaking component in the advertising curriculum and share a relatively painless method for teaching presentation skills in advertising classes. Below I discuss: (1) the value of presentation skills in advertising, (2) the merits of speaking-across-the-curriculum approaches to communication education, and (3) a process for adapting advertising assignments to include presentation opportunities and for evaluating student performances.

Oral Presentation Skills and the Advertising Curriculum

With mass communications' emphasis on writing skills, advertising educators may be overlooking equally important oral communication skills. Advertising professionals want more "real world" training in advertising education (Kendrick, Slayden & Broyles, 1996; Robbs & Wells, 1999). But only rarely do educators ask the professionals about the relative importance of making presentations in the field. Robbs (1996) found industry creatives did agree that "presentation skills" are valuable for advertising professionals and recommended "public speaking" as an elective course. Robbs' respondents said that "entry-level creatives who are effective presenters get ahead faster," although they still would hire strong conceptual thinkers who presented themselves ineffectively (Robbs, 1996, p. 29). One respondent who also teaches at Atlanta's Portfolio Center said that "it's real tough to teach presentation (sic) when the focus is on concepting and writing" and that "the presentation skills will come later" (Robbs, 1996, p. 32). In another study surveying advertising education among "new creatives," respondents "described the value of gaining presentation experience within the relatively safe classroom environment" (Otnes, Spooner & Treise, 1993, p. 12). "The importance of learning presentation skills led to frequent mention of another valuable course: acting" (Otnes, Spooner & Treise, 1993, pp. 13-14).

Responding to an integrated marketing communications survey, both advertising and public relations professionals believed that public speaking and oral presenting were an important educational area (Rose & Miller, 1993). Not surprisingly, Guiniven's (1998) public relations practitioners also rated good oral communication skills as "very important." Nevertheless, speech communication in the advertising curriculum hasn't been fully explored.

Speaking Across the Curriculum

Following the increased popularity of writing across the curriculum (WAC) programs in the last decade, some speech communication educators have been advocating and implementing speaking across the curriculum (SAC) programs (Morello, 2000). There is even a national movement to incorporate standardized speaking and listening competencies into elementary and secondary education reform (Speech Communication Association, 1991). Still, only half of U.S. universities require a basic speech course (Trank & Lewis, 1991). Both WACs and SACs emerge from Britain's more integrated approach to written and oral communication called Language Across the Curriculum (Parker, 1985). WACs and SACs share similar "learning to learn" goals in approaching communication education as "communicating to learn, increasing the power of student discourse, de-centering the classroom, and creating communities of active learners" (Morello, 2000, p. 105).

SACs, however, view oral communication as an embodied communication performance. SACs focus skills-building on targeting content, form, and style of speech for specific audience contexts and on orally communicating ideas supported with appropriate evidence (Morello, 2000; Weiss, 1990). Rather than "crowding out" other curricular material, SAC programs look for classrooms where public speaking is already a common, though unrecognized or under-emphasized, practice (Morello, 2000). For students, the benefits are tangible. Beyond a single semester of public speaking, integrating speech communication across the curriculum increases student competency, thus confidence and self-esteem, by providing opportunities to use skills that will deteriorate if not practiced and by developing new skills (Cronin & Glenn, 1991; Cronin & Grice, 1991; Morello, 2000; Palmerton, 198l; Rubin & Graham, 1988).

People trained in public speaking improve their overall communication skills, whether that training is conducted in academic or professional settings (Basset & Boone, 1983). If making presentations is an inevitable function of the advertising business, and if presentation skills can be taught in advertising education without "crowding out" other content, then there is no reason not to provide students with the safe classroom public speaking training that will allow them to get ahead faster. Next I describe a method for developing students' oral communication skills in advertising courses.

A Public Speaking Component for Advertising Courses

As Sprague and Stuart (1996) note, writing about public speaking is something of a "contradiction" since the immediacy of oral communication is what differentiates it from written communication: "Public speaking is a lived, performed, embodied event that draws its special qualities out of the immediate context, the personality of a particular speaker, the response of a certain audience" (p. 1). The performance of prepared speech acts before a live audience can be intimidating, but with training and preparation, it also can be exhilarating.

The Introductory Unit

Introducing advertising students to public speaking, then, requires instructors (a) to convince students they will need public speaking skills for presentations, (b) to demystify the process of public speaking itself, and (c) to offer some basic guidelines for planning presentations. Early in the semester I introduce students to the art of public performance by way of demonstration. I attempt a brief but exemplary speech on the topic of making effective presentations, complete with visual aids and handouts. This, I promise, is that most painful part of teaching public speaking because it requires the most preparation as well as putting yourself on the line.

As in all pedagogical endeavors, instructors first must teach why a subject is important before students will engage the subject's content. I begin with an "icebreaker":[1]

> In 1979, a survey of employers listed "verbal/oral communication skills" as the first skill employers look for (Hagge-Greenberg, 1979).

Any changes in the work world since 1979? (Students call out changes: internet/world-wide web, email, telecommuting, speed of communication, workforce diversity, etc. Put them on the board.)

With "public speaking" as a keyword on the Lexus-Nexus database covering newspapers and periodicals, 165 hits between 1998 and 1999 stressed communication as--and sometimes more--important than technical skills in business today. The same goes for advertising.

(Put up a few quotes as visuals:)

* Advertising creatives agree presentation skills are valuable for advertising professionals. (Robbs, 1996)

* Entry-level creatives who present effectively get ahead faster. (Robbs, 1996)

* New creatives describe the value of getting presentation experience in the classroom. (Otnes, Spooner & Treise, 1993)

* IMC professionals in advertising and PR say public speaking and oral presenting are important. (Rose & Miller, 1993)

Instructors also may want to share personal experience, such as stories of worst and best presentation moments. (Horror story: In a big new business pitch, I didn't check out an unfamiliar VCR in advance and couldn't it get to operate at showtime; I embarrassed myself and the agency.) Then ask students to share their best/worst public speaking experiences. Discuss one or two stories to isolate the stakes involved in the presentation and the tactics that improved or could have improved the speaker's odds for success. Another active exercise asks students to generate a list of situations in which they can imagine having to prepare and perform presentations in advertising--both before they graduate (semester projects, advertising club meetings, AAF campaigns competition, internship interviews) and after they graduate (job searches, staff meetings, internal planning sessions, regular client meetings, new business presentations).

Second, after students understand that making presentations is routine in advertising, I unpack any fears about public speaking. People tend to harbor four misconceptions about public speaking (Sprague & Stuart, 1996): (1) Some people are born natural public speakers; they rest of us are hopeless cases. False. As in all skilled activities, practice leads to improvement. (2) Making presentations is easy. False, again. Good presentations require some hard work. The more effortless a presentation looks, the greater the backstage sweat factor. (3) Making presentations is always painful. Also false. While hard work inevitably pays off, the more you make presentations, the more fun they become. Competence breeds confidence. (4) All good presentations share one simple formula. Well, yes and no. Every presentation demands its own process and execution. However, good presentations do share a couple things in common: preparation and enthusiasm. Remind students that as they move through the stages of "unconscious incompetence" to "conscious incompetence" to "conscious competence" to, eventually, "unconscious competence," that the level of "fun" involved increases exponentially (Sprague & Stuart, 1996).

For some students, introducing the idea of public speaking in an advertising class will seem like betrayal, as bad as telling advertising students they will do math to learn to calculate ratings. Reassure students that any public speaking in the classroom will be designed to allow students to risk making mistakes in a safe, supportive environment. Suggest that it's better to get through the incompetence stages in the classroom than in the "real world." Offer some tactics for overcoming stage-fright: visualize, breath deeply, have a drink handy, don't over- or under-eat, wear clothing you can move in, be yourself, look for friendly faces, and "practice, practice, practice" (Baskerville, 1994). "KEEP A SECRET. Even the most experienced speakers are nervous before a presentation. The key is not to let your audience know you are nervous" (Armentrout, 1993). Everyone has little habits that surface under stress, such as speaking too fast; learn what they are and try to control them (Armentrout, 1993). "Don't be afraid to pause and collect your thoughts. Go slow. ... In fact, pauses can add impact to your talk" (Armentrout, 1993).

Here also, might be a good time to cover how mutually supportive peers should behave, if it hasn't been covered already. It's no different than supporting each other during brainstorming. "Esprit de corps" and "all-for-one-and-one-for-all" will prevail. Remind students they're all in this together; it's not a competition. Avoid personal attacks. Focus on positives first. Frame negatives tactfully. Absolutely no eye-rolling.

Finally I cover content and organization, including the importance of an introductory hook and selling close. I teach them the old "tell 'em three things" formula: "Tell 'em what you're gonna tell 'em. Tell 'em. Tell 'em what you told 'em." In other words, the introduction previews the three major points. The body expounds on the three major points. The close summarizes the three major points and, if appropriate, calls the audience to action.

Content also includes comparisons between informative and persuasive presentations, although advertising presentations often combine both, such as informing the audience of data and trends and then persuading the audience that the new strategy, concept, and creative address objectives. Stress the similarities between advertising and organizing speech content. Just like advertising, the key to informative speeches is simplifying complex ideas and data to increase the audience's comprehension. Don't overload the audience with too much information; do move from the simple and familiar to the more complex and unfamiliar; reduce technical jargon; group information under bullets or numerals (O'Hair, Friedrich & Shaver, 1995; Sprague & Stuart, 1996). KISS!

Also like advertising, the key to persuasion is understanding what motivates the audience (O'Hair, Friedrich & Shaver, 1995; Sprague & Stuart, 1996). Effective persuasion depends on understanding "where the audience is at." "Try to give listeners the feeling that the proposal you are advocating is a natural extension of their existing attitudes and behavior" (O'Hair, Friedrich & Shaver, 1995, p. 450). Speech audiences, like advertising audiences, also must be moved through the stages of awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption (O'Hair, Friedrich & Shaver, 1995, pp. 447-448). For example, persuading a group with no preconceptions is much easier than persuading a group with a negative opinion. Where differences are obvious, stress common ground

(Sprague & Stuart, 1995). Finally, pre-empt negative reactions by addressing possible objections or counter points of view.

Inevitably, my little performance on making presentations is imperfect, as are most presentations. Instead of glossing over my mistakes, I reflexively highlight them and take students backstage to my feelings and strategies for dealing with them. I invite students to critique my performance. They intuitively will know what works and what doesn't. I list their suggestions on the board to make them official. Almost always they cover most of my prepared list, and I just finish with one or two additional points.

After this brief introduction, the next step is to provide students opportunities to practice speech skills. Three places to get students to begin practicing presentations are major semester projects, specially designed class reports, and day-to-day individual and/or group assignments and exercises.

Assignments

Students' major semester projects become the best places to practice presentation skills, whether the course is media strategy, copy, design, campaigns, or even the introductory advertising class. From planning and explaining the assignment to presenting and evaluating it, instructors should reinforce oral skills right along with advertising process and execution. Team projects are an especially good place to employ "real world" teamwork (Beard, 1997; Robbs & Weisberg, 1999) toward putting on the full-blown "dog and pony" show.

Write up end-of-semester assignments to include a paragraph about objectives and expectations for the "performance" aspects of these projects: "The formal presentation of your projects should be highly professional. Think of these as client meetings. You'll want to leave an outstanding impression. Do not underestimate the importance of a well-rehearsed, polished, enthusiastic, and entertaining performance." Since major projects represent the culmination of a semester's work, evaluations for presentations should be as stringent as for project content. Where instructors invite students' feedback on their peers' major projects, ask students to include prasie and suggestions on the oral presentation of information as well as the advertising itself. This also reinforces rules of constructive criticism students have learned.

In addition to major projects presentations, I also require students to make two other short solo "speeches" during the semester, and I schedule them so that one or two students are presenting every class meeting. By dedicating the first 10-15 minutes of each period to presentations, students see presentations all semester, and the class doesn't lose a week or more of course content given over to "speech days." A further benefit accrues by making the content of these presentations correspond to the course curriculum, so students are teaching other students with supplemental material that reinforces course objectives.

For example, in copywriting classes, I adapt the standard "Good Ad" exercise into a presentation. I also assign an "Each One Teach One" presentation. In the five-minute good ad presentation, each student must bring in an ad demonstrating excellent copywriting based on what the class has learned counts as good copy. This persuasive presentation forces students to spend some time examining ad copy and then rationalizing why their copy choices work, or not.

The "Each One Teach One" copy assignment stages an informative speech. Students may read an additional book about copywriting, or they may choose to research and report on a diversity issue in advertising. In either case, presentation content must correspond with whatever unit the class is covering. If, for example, the television unit is scheduled on the syllabus calendar, then the student's presentation should pertain to writing copy for TV. Students' five- to 10-minute "each one" presentations focus on teaching the class the one most interesting or useful thing the presenter learned. I encourage students to demonstrate or illustrate one concept or idea, or to involve the class in a short active learning exercise. Furthermore, the "each one" assignment requires the student to pass out an excellently written one-page summary of the book or research in the form of a poster or brochure. By the end of the semester, students fill a notebook with these "hot tips."

Fully outline these assignments in the syllabus and develop a schedule in the first two weeks of class so students can begin planning as soon as possible. I strictly enforce time limits for both the "good ad" and the "each one" assignments, both to keep the class on schedule and to force students to rehearse in advance.

These assignments also adapt to other courses. For example, in design, the "good ad" assignment translates into a "great designs" assignment. Also in design, the "each one teach one" assignment becomes a quick demonstration, illustration, or exercise covering the unit the class is working on, for example grids or color theory, and the handout becomes another opportunity for practicing rules of good page design.

Regardless of the course or assignment, the dos and don'ts of good oral presentations apply. In addition to getting students actively involved in course content, allowing students to engage their peers, and privileging students' voices by providing them with chances to present, these exercises also provide instructors with a steady stream of new ideas, resources, examples, and exercises to use next time around.

Finally, the semester also affords many day-to-day opportunities for students to do a more informal kind of public speaking, especially if instructors employ active learning methods. Both interacting with and reporting back to the class during small-group exercises represent "mini-speech" opportunities. This works best if groups know to rotate the facilitator and reporter jobs among students. Asking students to present orally (or, in the case of scripts, actually perform) in-class and homework assignments, complete with rationales, provides even more chances to practice presenting. Generally, the more students present, the more comfortable they feel and the better at it they become. Most important, though, students become sensitive to the nuances of their own and others' performances.

Evaluation

Feedback is critical to the success of these student presentation strategies. "FIGURE 1" reproduces the evaluation form I use for formal student presentations. Including it in the syllabus tells students up front what expectations are and encourages them to evaluate themselves before they present. Evaluations cover six areas: organization, content and utility, language and voice, body language, A/V and props, and fun factor.

1. **"Organization"** marks cover the basics of a good speech, including a clear introduction with a punch-'em-in-the-nose hook and preview, a fully developed body, and a conclusion with a summary and a close that leaves the audience begging for more.

2. **"Content and Utility"** refer to the quality of the information presented according to the assignment. This asks students if their subject matter, whether informative or persuasive, was useful to their audiences. Here instructors need to warn students off the caveat and apologia. "Exude confidence and affirm success" (Baskerville, 1994).

3. **"Language and Voice"** issues include volume, pace, clarity. Steer students away sub-vocals and fillers ("um," "uh"). Point out students' amazingly consistent use of "OK" as a presentation introduction. Also discourage students from reading their presentations.

4. **"Body Language"** refers more to personal style issues, including attire. Additionally, some students are very good at making formal presentations behind a podium. Others are better at more informal, chatty styles. I encourage students to "risk" practicing the style they feel least comfortable with. Get the serious student who hides behind the podium to move out into and around the classroom. Ask the comedians and the star-struck to consider trying a more serious, quieter body language style. Warn all students against nervous habits (ear tugging, hair smoothing, rocking back and forth) and

object abuse (pocket-change jangling, paperclip twisting, pen twirling) (O'Hair, Friedrich, Shaver, 1995, p. 423).

5. The "A/V and Props" section examines students' choices of supporting materials as well as how well they manage them. Are visuals large enough and positioned well enough so that everyone can see them? Did they enhance the presentation or distract from it? As instructors well know, effectively juggling notes, VCRs, handouts, and PowerPoint or overheads can be a challenge. Tell students always to check out equipment ahead of time. Murphy's Law applies. O'Hair, Friedrich, and Shaver (1995, p. 411) summarize an excellent list of audio-visual hints: When using electronic equipment, check out equipment early, including outlets; also check and pre-set volume; test room acoustics. For overhead projectors, slides (and PowerPoint), don't block the screen and don't talk to the screen; talk to the audience. For chalkboards and flipcharts, face the audience while writing; practice using the writing surface; plan words (spelling and grammar) and placement (space); set up materials beforehand. When using objects, posters, or charts, make sure they are visible to the entire audience; plan and test how they will rest--glue, thumbtacks, tape?--otherwise they inevitably fall at inopportune moments. Carefully plan when to use handouts, which always seem to sabotage students (and instructors) as if they had a mind of their own. "(M)embers of your audience will often read, make noise, and create artwork with your handouts while they ignore you" (O'Hair, Friedrich & Shaver, 1995, p. 411). To this I add a few words about lists and bullet points. Nothing turns an audience off faster than flashing up a long list of points to be covered; the groans will be audible. Group a long list under three or four main bullet points. At the least, hide a long list and reveal the next point only as needed. Otherwise, class and instructor will be snoring before point No. 3.

6. Last, the "Fun Factor" means entertainment value. Encourage students to use humor. Also remind them that if they aren't enthusiastic about their topics, their audiences won't be either. Here I talk about "acting." Being enthusiastic about one's presentation is great, but everyone eventually has to present less-than-exciting material. The trick for presenters is to act as if it were the most enthralling information ever encountered.

I use the back of the form to write longer comments and suggestions. I always preface constructive criticism by praising the best feature or features of the student's presentation--sometimes it is a stretch. Nevertheless, as in all feedback, keeping students motivated means tempering the bitter with the sweet.

As the semester moves forward, raise the bar for what qualifies as an A, B, or C presentation every three or four weeks. Ratcheting up the standard only seems fair given that students who present later in the semester have the benefit not only of more time to prepare but also of learning from their brave peers' early mistakes. At whatever point the class has witnessed nearly the full range of "what not to do" in others' presentations, I ask the students to spend a few minutes generating and processing a blackboard list of dos and don'ts for presentations. "No names, please." Students typically will cover most of the list I have been compiling all along.

Another excellent feedback method is videotaping student performances, standard procedure in public speaking courses. Students viewing their presentations in all their glory can be a super, though painful, learning experience. Providing this experience, of course, requires the instructor to make the camcorder and tripod available. Given the extra time and effort this takes if students are presenting daily, saving the videotaping until end-of-semester major projects may be a more efficient alternative. Ask students or student teams to supply their own video cassettes.

Conclusion

Presentations are an inevitable and important part of the advertising business. Yet advertising education does not emphasize the skills for making effective presentations. Following writing across the curriculum programs, speaking across the curriculum programs provide a model for incorporating oral communication skills into advertising courses. By reviewing the basics of effective public speaking early in the semester and then looking for opportunities to turn advertising assignments into more formal presentations, instructors can encourage advertising students to develop their presentations abilities without "crowding out" traditional advertising content.

Mass communications educators, including advertising professors, expend a lot of energy convincing students that writing will be critical to their professional success--and it will. But advertising people spend a far greater amount of time speaking--on the phone, interpersonally, in small groups, in formal and informal presentations, and, more and more, in video-conferencing.[2] I know I did during my 12 years in the advertising industry. I think the trouble lies in the transparency of oral communication. With the exception of the hearing and speech impaired, everyone communicates orally. We assume most do it competently. What if we didn't make that assumption? We all also know those rare people who seem to speak brilliantly off the cuff. But in reality, most of the time hard work and practice lie behind the image of talent and eloquence. Before practice can make perfect, though, students have to believe the practice will be important and, ultimately, will pay off. To twist Tom Bowers' remarks, requiring advertising students to tune in to public speaking sends "a message that these things are important for the School's graduates to know"; presentation requirements "should act as a kind of siren, calling students' attention to potential errors and teaching them where to find answers," (Johnson, 1996, p. 14).[3]

FIGURE 1.: STUDENT EVALUATION FORM

How Did You Do?: Assess Your Presentation

	VERY GOOD	AVERAGE	NEEDS WORK
OGANIZATION			
Introduction:			
Attention-grabber?	___	___	___
reveal topic?	___	___	___
preview points?	___	___	___
Body:			
good support?	___	___	___
clear transitions?	___	___	___
Close:			
restate topic?	___	___	___
summarize points?	___	___	___
powerful ending?	___	___	___
CONTENT & UTILITY			
fulfill assignment?	___	___	___
audience learn?	___	___	___
LANGUAGE & VOICE			
clear, understandable?	___	___	___
conversational?	___	___	___
loud enough?	___	___	___
varied pace, volume?	___	___	___
ums, uhs, OKs--not?	___	___	___
reading--not?	___	___	___
BODY LANGUAGE			
maintain eye contact?	___	___	___
not too stiff, frozen?	___	___	___
varied gestures	___	___	___
varied facial expression?	___	___	___
A/V & PROPS			
appropriate?	___	___	___
support, not distract?	___	___	___
legible for everyone?	___	___	___
time enough to see?	___	___	___
FUN FACTOR			
enthusiastic?	___	___	___
obvious you had fun?	___	___	___
audience had fun?	___	___	___

Notes

[1] Thanks for this "icebreaker" go to Elizabeth Bell, who teaches performance and supervises the public speaking curriculum in the Department of Communication at the University of South Florida.

[2] I've seen a breakout that says our time is spent: 15% reading, 11% writing, 42% listening, and 32% talking. But I can't seem to track down the full citation for the study by Gourman, Miller, and Wiethoff (1992) after Ross (1986).

[3] Actually, Bowers was talking about mass communications' writing emphasis and the English diagnostic test requirement most mass communications undergraduate programs have had since the late 1970s and early '80s.

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MEDIA RELIANCE AND SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE: Do People Learn Science Information from the Media the Same Way They Learn Political Information?

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MEDIA RELIANCE AND SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how reliance on newspapers and television news affects science knowledge. The newspaper-reliant group averaged 41.1 on the science knowledge test, compared with 38.5 for the television-news reliant group ($t = -4.48$, $df = 346.75$, $p = .001$). Moreover, the higher the respondents' newspaper use, the higher their science knowledge (Std. beta = .104, $p < .001$). Gender and education also played important roles in predicting the respondents' science knowledge.

MEDIA RELIANCE AND SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines how reliance on newspapers and television news affects science knowledge. It evaluates whether multiple media reliances—reading a newspaper several times a week and observing television news each day—increase knowledge through additive or synergistic processes.[1] This approach also shows if the effects of newspapers and television news are independent or interactive. Researchers have conducted media reliance research in one of two ways. In the first, they asked respondents which medium they relied on most for their political news. If the respondents said television news, they were operationalized as television-news reliant. In the second, researchers asked respondents the amount of time they spent on the average day with newspapers and television news. Respondents who responded that they spent more time with newspapers than television news were operationalized as newspaper reliant. However, a major limitation of these approaches was that they failed to consider the interactive effects of media use (Reese & Miller, 1981, pp. 171-172). Rosenberg and Elliott (1989, p. 21) asserted that there was no reason why reliance should be limited to one medium. In fact, most people relied on multiple news sources. Some people might have been most reliant on newspapers, but that did not reduce the importance of their reliance on other news sources (Rosenberg & Elliott, 1989, p. 21). Only two studies were identified that analyzed how multiple media reliances affected respondents' political knowledge. These studies suggested that there were additive effects between media, with people who relied on newspapers and television news knowing more about politics than people who just used a single medium (Robinson & Levy, 1996, pp. 134-135; Ankney, 1998, p. 26).

This paper will continue to develop the multiple media reliance approach and apply this methodology to science knowledge. Although many researchers have suggested that people learn science information the same way as political information, this assumption has not been tested. Six hypotheses were evaluated to determine the relationships of media reliance and demographic factors, the independent variables, to science knowledge, the dependent variable. The paper was carried out via a secondary analysis of the 1993 General Social Survey data set.

THEORY

Media reliance. Communication scholars have struggled to operationalize the construct media reliance. There have been two major approaches: asking respondents which medium they relied on most for their political news or asking survey respondents the amount of time they spent on the average day with newspapers and television news and considering them reliant on the medium they used most. Both of these approaches have significant limitations. The most serious, perhaps, was that survey respondents were classified as reliant on just one medium. Few people relied on one medium while excluding others (Reese & Miller, 1981, pp. 171-172. Stempel and Hargrove (1996, p. 552) pointed out that 70 percent of people reported regular viewing of local television news, 67 percent said they regularly watch network television news, 59 percent reported they regularly read a daily newspaper, and 49 percent said they regularly listen to radio news.

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[1] An assumption of this paper is an active audience where people choose media content to meet specific needs. It is consistent with uses and gratifications research (Levy & Windahl, 1984, pp. 51-52).

Another limitation was that these approaches assumed a continuum from total newspaper reliance to total television-news reliance. The construct did not consider that people relied on both media to varying degrees (Reese & Miller, 1981, p. 172). The construct also failed to consider the role of other media, such as radio news, in shaping the respondents' political knowledge. As a result, several researchers have begun to examine multiple media reliances. Robinson and Levy (1996, pp. 134-135) showed that survey respondents who used neither television news nor newspapers scored 2.1 on a five-point political information test, while respondents who utilized only television news averaged 2.3. The newspaper group scored 2.8, and the newspaper-television news group averaged 2.9. Thus, the data showed some additive effects between news sources, with respondents in the newspaper-television news group demonstrating the most political knowledge. Ankney (1998, p. 26) presented a methodology where survey respondents could be reliant on newspapers, television news and radio news.[2] Survey respondents who were reliant on at least two media—such as newspapers and television news—scored a mean of 3.3 on a six-point political knowledge scale, compared with 2.91 for respondents with single or no media reliances. Moreover, the top three groups in political knowledge were the radio and newspaper reliant (3.69), the television and newspaper reliant (3.32), and the television and radio reliant (3.31). The bottom three groups in political knowledge were the no media reliance (2.90), the television reliant (2.75), and the newspaper reliant (2.69). "Thus, the data suggest that individuals use media to seek political information in complementary ways; one result of which may be an additive process whereby exposure to multiple media sources leads to an increase in political knowledge" (Ankney, 1998, p. 90).

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[2] Because the General Social Survey does not ask about respondents' radio-news use, this methodology cannot be used. Instead, the approach of this study is similar to that used by Robinson and Levy (1996, pp. 134-135).

Science knowledge. Americans have a poor understanding of science, particularly the poor and people with less than a high-school education (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1999; Caws, 1998, p. 15). One reason for this is that science knowledge fades quickly after it is learned unless it is reinforced by usage, reading or conversation (Paisley, 1998, p. 76). Science knowledge also competes with other types of knowledge—such as political information—to be coded and recalled (Paisley, 1998, p. 79). Where do Americans get their science knowledge? Lichter and Amundson (1996) showed that nearly 67 percent of survey respondents relied on newspapers or television stations for food nutrition information, compared with 49 percent for doctors. Another study found that 82 percent of Americans obtained cancer information from television, compared with 65 percent for newspapers. The mass media were the leading source of cancer information (Freimuth, Greenberg, DeWitt & Romano, 1984, p. 64).

Effects of newspapers. The literature showed that newspapers played a key role in increasing political knowledge. Robinson and Davis (1990, pp. 108, 112) analyzed data from two national surveys to determine how the media helped people to acquire news information. Respondents who read newspapers did better on comprehension measures than respondents who watched television news (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 116). Newspaper reading also provided "more long-term, enduring forms of knowledge" than observing television news (Chaffee, Zhao & Leshner, 1994, p. 316).

Effects of television. Until the late 1980s, the literature suggested that television news played little role in communicating political information. In fact, a literature review of articles published between 1967 and 1987 showed that none of the 13 studies found television-news viewers as better informed than newspaper readers (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 109). However, television was an important news source for people who were unable to comprehend newspaper stories. In a study of Korean-American immigrants, television-news exposure was similar to newspaper exposure in improving political knowledge. In fact, television news outranked demographic factors, such as educational level and age, in predicting political learning for immigrants who had been in the country for a short time and who lacked English skills. Television-news exposure had a similar effect for pre-voting age Americans. In this population, there was a positive correlation between watching television news and political knowledge (Chaffee, Nass & Yang, 1990, pp. 266-269).

Control variables. Most studies suggested that it was important to control for demographic factors when evaluating the effects of media use. Men, for example, did better than women on political knowledge tests (Robinson

& Levy, 1996, p. 131; Weaver & Drew, 1993, p. 363; Drew & Weaver, 1998, p. 295). Age also predicted respondents' political knowledge (Robinson & Levy, 1996, p. 131). Respondents aged 55 and older scored higher on knowledge tests than other groups (Robinson & Levy, 1996, p. 130). Education also contributed to predicting respondents' political knowledge (Drew & Weaver, 1998, p. 295). College graduates scored three times as high on political knowledge tests as dropouts (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 116). Other factors that predicted survey respondents' political knowledge related to their interest and participation (Weaver & Drew, 1995, p. 11). Robinson and Davis (1990, p. 116) demonstrated that people who were interested in politics scored much higher on news comprehension measures than people who were not. Moreover, if people participated in the political process, such as voting or working for campaigns, they had much higher knowledge levels than people who did not (Gandy, Matabane & Omachonu, 1987, pp. 646-647; Drew & Weaver, 1991, p. 36).

HYPOTHESES

H1: People with multiple media reliances will have more science knowledge than people with single or no media reliances.[3]

As noted earlier, Robinson and Levy (1996, pp. 134-135) showed that people who used newspapers and television news did better on political knowledge tests than people with single or no media reliances. Moreover, Ankney (1998, p. 90) demonstrated that survey respondents who were reliant on at least two media scored much higher on a six-point knowledge test than respondents with single or no media reliances. Thus, it seems likely that respondents who read a newspaper every day and observe television news every day will have more science knowledge than respondents who do not.

H2: The newspaper-reliant group will have more science knowledge than the television-news reliant group.

The literature suggested that newspapers played a major role in improving Americans' political knowledge. Moreover, a literature review of articles published between 1967 and 1987 showed that none of the 13 studies found television-news viewers as better informed than newspaper readers (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 109). Thus, it seems reasonable to expect that newspaper readers will have more science knowledge than television viewers.

H3: The higher the respondents' newspaper use, the higher their science knowledge.

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[3] *Multiple media reliances* are reliances on newspapers and television news. *Science knowledge* is the amount a person knows about science and environmental issues. *Single or no media reliances* mean that people have limited exposure to news sources.

Again, there was extensive literature suggesting that newspapers improved Americans' political knowledge. It seems likely that this benefit will apply to science knowledge as well and that the higher the respondents' newspaper use, the higher their science knowledge.

H4: Men will do better on the science knowledge test than women.

Men generally did better than women on political knowledge tests (Robinson & Levy, 1996, p. 131; Weaver & Drew, 1993, p. 363). Gender role socialization likely played a role by discouraging women from becoming interested in public affairs (Gandy, Matabane & Omachonu, 1987, p. 657). Thus, it seems reasonable that these findings for other types of knowledge will apply to science knowledge, with men scoring higher than women.

H5: Respondents who finish bachelor's degrees or advanced degrees will have more science knowledge than respondents with less education.

Education served as the best predictor of political information and accounted for much more of an effect on knowledge than media use (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 116; Robinson & Levy, 1996, pp. 131-133). Consequently, it seems plausible that respondents who finish bachelor's degrees or advanced degrees will have more science knowledge than respondents with less education.

H6: Respondents aged 36 and older will have more science knowledge than respondents aged 18 through 35.

Research suggested that respondents aged 18 through 35 had the least amount of political knowledge. Knowledge improved slightly in the second age category, 36 through 50. However, it was usually the third age category, aged 51 and older, that did best on political knowledge tests (Robinson & Levy, 1996, p. 131). This effect probably occurred because regular media use rose with age (Stempel & Hargrove, 1996, p. 556). Consequently, it seems reasonable that respondents aged 36 and older will have more science knowledge than respondents aged 18 through 35.

METHODS

The General Social Survey was a full probability sample conducted February through April 1993. The sample was a multistage, probability sample to the block or segment level. Quota sampling then determined the respondents interviewed based on age, sex and employment. The survey was independently drawn among English-speaking Americans aged 18 or older living in noninstitutional arrangements. A split sample design was employed. As a result, about one-third of the sample was not asked about newspaper use. This left 1,070 cases for analysis. The median length of the interview was 90 minutes (The Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1999). The 1993 survey, although seven years old, was selected because it contained 12 science knowledge questions—by far the most comprehensive science knowledge questions in a national survey—as well as questions on newspaper and television-news use. Multiple media reliances, one of the independent variables, was operationalized by asking about respondents' use of newspapers and television news.[4] Respondents who used newspapers and television news for at least the survey median were considered reliant on the medium. This meant that respondents had to read a newspaper at least a few times a week to be reliant. Television viewers had to watch television news every day to be reliant. Science knowledge, the dependent variable, was operationalized by asking 12 questions about science and the environment.[5]

RESULTS

Five hundred and ninety-five females (56%) and 475 males (44%) participated in the survey.[6] The mean age was 46 years (range 18 through 89 years). The survey population was highly educated and scored well on an intelligence measure. A plurality of respondents earned more than $25,000 and were newspaper and television-news reliant.[7] Survey respondents averaged 40.2 on the science knowledge test (range 27 through 59) (Table 1).

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[4] The questions were: "How often do you read the newspaper—every day, a few times a week, once a week, less than once a week, or never?" "Would you tell me how often you watch world or national news programs? Would you say every day, several times a week, several times a month, rarely, or never?"

[5] The questions were: "If someone is exposed to any amount of radioactivity, they are certain to die as a result?" (Answer: Definitely not true). "Some radioactive waste from nuclear power stations will stay dangerous for thousands of years." (Answer: Definitely true). "The greenhouse effect is caused by a hole in the earth's atmosphere." (Answer: Definitely not true). "Every time we use coal or oil or gas, we contribute to the greenhouse effect." (Answer: Definitely true). "All pesticides and chemicals used on food crops cause cancer in humans." (Answer: Definitely not true). "Human beings are the main cause of plant and animal species dying out." (Answer: Definitely true). "Cars are not really an important cause of air pollution in America." (Answer: Definitely not true). "All radioactivity is made by humans." (Answer: Definitely not true). "Antibiotics kill bacteria, but not viruses." (Answer: Definitely true). "Astrology—the study of star signs—has some scientific truth." (Answer: Definitely not true). "Human beings developed from earlier species of animals." (Answer: Definitely true). "All man-made chemicals can cause cancer if you eat enough of them." (Answer: Definitely not true). Respondents received one point for an incorrect and "definite" answer, two points for an incorrect and probably answer, three points for a can't choose response, four points for a correct and probably answer, and five points for a correct and definite response. Thus, the scores could range from 12 for respondents with the least knowledge to 60 for respondents with the most knowledge. This approach was consistent with research done by Smith (1996, p. 20) and Chaffee, Zhao and Leshner (1994, p. 319). These are issues that receive extensive coverage in the media and should be good measures of media effects.

[6] Most surveys have a higher percentage of females than Census figures. It is unclear why females are more likely to participate in survey research (Pamela Shoemaker, personal communication, July 1997).

[7] Four hundred and ninety-three respondents (46%) said that they read a newspaper every day, 281 respondents (26%) said that they read a newspaper several times a week, 136 respondents (13%) said they read a newspaper once a week, 96 respondents (9%) said they read a newspaper less than once a week, and 64 respondents (6%) said that they never read a newspaper. In comparison, 673 respondents (63%) said that they watched television news every day, 240 respondents (22%) said that they watched television news several days a week, 72 respondents (7%) said that they watched television news several days a month, 61 respondents (6%) said that they rarely watched television news, and 24 respondents (2%) said that they never watched television news. Thus, to be

MEDIA RELIANCE AND SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE

Science knowledge differed slightly by media reliance category. The just newspaper-reliant group had the highest amount of science knowledge (Table 2).

Hypotheses results. The first hypothesis was that people with multiple media reliances—reading a newspaper and watching television news every day—would have more knowledge than people with single or no media reliances. This hypothesis not supported (Table 3). The second hypothesis was that the newspaper-reliant group would have more science knowledge than the television-news reliant group. This hypothesis was supported (Table 3).

The third hypothesis was that the higher the respondents' newspaper use, the higher their science knowledge. This hypothesis was supported (Table 4). The fourth hypothesis was that men would score higher on the science knowledge test than women. This hypothesis was supported (Table 5). The fifth hypothesis was that respondents who finished bachelor's degrees or advanced degrees would have more science knowledge than respondents with less education. This hypothesis also was supported (Table 6). The sixth hypothesis was that respondents aged 36 and older would have more science knowledge than respondents aged 18 through 35. This hypothesis was not supported (Table 6).

Post-hoc analysis. Because previous research with political information had shown attitude and participation variables to be important in predicting respondents' political knowledge, the first part of the post-hoc analysis was to determine what role similar variables play in science knowledge. Thirty-three questions on the 1993 General Social Survey were determined to relate to the respondents' science attitudes and their participation in environmental causes.[8] A factor analysis was performed to see what the questions had in common and to identify latent variables (Tables 7-8). The factor analysis identified eight latent attitude and participation variables: industrial pollution, higher prices/taxes, car pollution, faith in science, economic growth, nuclear power, actions to protect the environment. The second part of the post-hoc analysis was to incorporate the latent variables from the factor analysis into a hierarchical regression with the demographic variables and the media-use variables to predict science knowledge (Table 9).

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newspaper reliant you had to read a newspaper several times a week and to be television-news reliant you had to watch television news every day.

[8] A list of the questions is available from the author upon request. There were several other attitude questions that could have been used, but they were given to less than 75 percent of the sample. Using these questions would have negatively impacted on the factor analysis and the hierarchical regression.

In the hierarchical regression, newspaper use was not statistically significant in predicting science knowledge ($p = .18$), although it was by itself ($p = .0008$). The reason for this is that it was correlated with the demographic variables, e.g., education and intelligence. Because education and intelligence were more strongly correlated with science knowledge, newspaper use dropped below statistical significance in the hierarchical regression.

DISCUSSION

This paper examined how heavy exposure to newspapers and television news shaped science knowledge. It evaluated whether multiple media reliances—reading a newspaper a few times a week and watching television news every day—increased knowledge through additive or synergistic processes. This approach allowed researchers to determine the interactive effects of media use and was consistent with methodology developed by Robinson and Levy (1996, pp. 134-135) and Ankney (1998, p. 26). There was no reason why media reliance should be limited to one medium (Rosenberg & Elliott, 1989, p. 21). In the previous two studies of multiple media reliances on political knowledge, there was some evidence of additive effects between media, with respondents in the newspaper-television news group holding the highest level of political knowledge (Robinson & Levy, 1996, pp. 134-135; Ankney, 1998, p. 26). These studies suggested that media use was complementary, not competitive.

The results of this study on science knowledge were not consistent with the studies of multiple media reliances on political knowledge. The respondents with multiple media reliances did better on the science knowledge test, but the results did not reach statistical significance. The 513 respondents with multiple media reliances averaged 40.43 on the science knowledge test, compared with 40.00 for the 527 respondents with single or no media reliances ($t = -1.22$, $df = 1{,}038$, $p = .11$).

For science knowledge, it appeared that newspapers played a small role in increasing knowledge, but that television news had no effect. These results were consistent with the two most thorough examinations of media exposure and science knowledge, which were published in the 1960s (Wade & Schramm, 1969; Tichenor, 1965). Wade and Schramm (1969, p. 201) showed that 82 percent of people who could answer all four science knowledge questions used newspapers or magazines as their main news sources. Tichenor (1965, p. 155) found that both newspapers and television news correlated with knowledge, although newspapers played the major role.

Moreover, the data support the extensive literature showing that newspapers are superior to television news in transmitting political information (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 109). The newspaper-reliant group averaged 41.07

on the science knowledge test, compared with 38.50 for the television-news reliant group. This difference was statistically significant (t = 4.48, df = 346.75, p = .001). Moreover, newspaper reading explained 1 percent of the variance in the respondents' science knowledge (Std. beta = .104, p < .001).

It was interesting that this study did not find that science knowledge increased with age. Previous work showed that respondents aged 18 through 35 had the least amount of political knowledge (Robinson & Levy, 1996, p. 131). Instead, in this study, respondents aged 51 through 89 did the poorest on the knowledge test. They averaged just 39.07, compared with 40.56 for respondents aged 18 through 35 and 41.10 for respondents aged 36 through 50 (F = 12.28, df = 2, 1035, p < .001). When science knowledge was reviewed by decade of life—teens, twenties, thirties, forties, fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties—it revealed that knowledge increased until the respondents were in their forties. Then knowledge began to drop dramatically. It may be that respondents over age 40 forget the science knowledge they gained in high school and college. Thus, the only way they learned science knowledge was through the media or interpersonal communication.

At the same time, many of the results from this study were consistent with the media reliance literature for political information. For example, men generally did much better on knowledge tests of current events than women (Robinson & Levy, 1996, p. 131; Weaver & Drew, 1993, p. 363). In this study, men averaged 41.32 on the science knowledge test, compared with 39.31 for women (t = -5.66, df = 883.63, p < .001). In addition, this study also found that education played a significant role in predicting respondents' science knowledge. Respondents with less than a high-school education averaged 36.82 on the science knowledge test, compared with 39.59 for high-school graduates, 40.94 for people with junior-college educations, 43.34 for college graduates, and 45.67 for people with advanced degrees (F = 59.61, df = 4, 1,034, p < .001). Previous research showed that education was the best predictor of respondents' political information (Robinson & Davis, 1990, p. 116; Robinson & Levy, 1996, pp. 131-133).

Furthermore, the factor analysis and regression results were similar to previous research and showed that the interest and participation variables played an important role in science knowledge. The attitude variables about science and the environment explained 12 percent of the variance in respondents' science knowledge. The respondents who felt science was important and that environmental issues should be taken seriously did much better on the knowledge test than respondents who did not. This finding was consistent with previous research by Weaver and

Drew (1995, p. 11) and Robinson and Davis (1990, p. 116), who demonstrated that people who were interested in politics scored much higher on news comprehension measures that people who were not.

The regression results showed that the demographic and attitude variables played a much larger role in predicting respondents' science knowledge than media use. The demographic and attitude variables explained 43 percent of the variance in science knowledge in the hierarchical regression, compared with .1 percent for the media variables. Newspaper use by itself explained 1 percent of the variance in science knowledge. However, it dropped below statistical significance in the hierarchical regression because intelligence and education were more highly correlated with science knowledge.

Finally, this study had several limitations. The General Social Survey did not ask respondents about an important factor in media use: attention. Under some situations, media consumers were more active than in others. For example, some people watched television news while eating dinner or talking with family members. It was likely that this was particularly true for women who performed a disproportionate amount of housework and child-care responsibilities. Thus, the level of audience activity was an important variable in predicting which effects occurred after media exposure. Exposure measures, such as days per week watching television news, only meant that the person spent time listening to the news, but attention added the element of mental effort and cognitive processing (Zhao & Bleske, 1995, p. 79). Attention measures were much more useful in determining the effects of television viewing than newspaper reading (Chaffee & Schleuder, 1986, p. 79).

In a study comparing the effects of television and newspaper use on knowledge of political candidates, Chaffee & Schleuder (1986, pp. 79, 93) found that the exposure measures explained most of the effects from newspapers. Whether respondents read a daily newspaper accounted for 6.3 percent of the variance, while the number of newspapers read explained another 6.4 percent. The newspaper attention measure explained only 3.9 percent of the variance in knowledge. In comparison, the television-news exposure measures explained just 0.7 percent of the candidate knowledge variance. However, another 8.9 percent was accounted for by the television attention measure (Chaffee & Schleuder, 1986, p. 79).

Another limitation was the media use questions asked on the General Social Survey. Previous research has shown that the questions were limited because respondents overestimated their media use. Price, Vincent and Zaller (1999) asserted that "self-reported rates of media exposure are only weakly predictive of actual news reception." There was no reason to believe, however, that the limitations of the questions had a greater impact on this study than earlier work, which used similar media-exposure questions.

Another approach for determining how media use affects knowledge is for communication researchers to ask about exposure to specific content, i.e., "60 Minutes" and "Newsweek." Ankney (1998, p. 93) found that exposure to specific news content was much better in predicting political knowledge than newspaper, television-news, and radio-news exposure variables. Exposure to specific news content helped to explain 44 percent of the variance in political knowledge when factoring in demographic and attitude variables, compared with 39 percent for the newspaper, radio-news and television-news exposure variables.

In conclusion, some communication scholars have assumed that people learn science knowledge from the media in the same way that they learn political information. This study suggested otherwise. With science knowledge, it is possible that respondents who are strongly reliant on special interest magazines and newsletters have the most knowledge. However, the benefits of these media would be missed when analyzing the General Social Survey data, which only deal with newspaper and television-news exposure.

This study found no relationship between television-news use and science knowledge. There was a relationship between newspaper use and science knowledge. However, the demographic factors—age, gender, education and intelligence—were much more correlated to science knowledge than newspaper use. The regression analysis using the demographic variables, the science-attitude variables, and the media-exposure variables explained 43 percent of the variance in science knowledge. Future research should examine why respondents seem to learn science knowledge from the media in different ways than they learn political information.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Education	1,069
less than high school	18%
high school	53
junior college	6
bachelor's degree	15
advanced degree	7
Intelligence measure	1,008
1 point	2%
2 points	4
3 points	6
4 points	11
5 points	14
6 points	22
7 points	16
8 points	11
9 points	9
10 points	5
Income	680
\$0 - \$15,000	24%
\$15,001 - \$25,000	36
> \$25,000	40
Media reliance group	1,070
newspaper and television-news reliant	49%
just newspaper reliant	23
just television-news reliant	14
no media reliance	14

Table 2. One-way analysis of variance with Bonferroni procedure for media reliance and science knowledge

	Mean	*Std. Deviation*	*N*
newspaper-TV reliant	40.43[a]	5.50	513
just newspaper reliant	41.07[b]	6.23	245
just television-news reliant	38.50[ab]	4.90	140
no media reliance	39.63	5.53	142
	40.21	5.66	1,040

$F = 7.02$, $df = 3, 1{,}036$, $p < .001$

The letters a and b indicate which groups are statistically different.

Table 3. Independent t-test for science knowledge by media reliance

	Multiple Reliances Mean (& SD) (N = 513)	*0-1 Reliance Mean (& SD) (N = 527)*	*T value*	*df*	*Significance*
knowledge	40.43 (5.50)	40.00 (5.81)	-1.22	1,038	.11

Independent t-test for science knowledge by newspaper and television reliance

	Newspaper reliant Mean (& SD) (N = 245)	*TV reliant Mean (& SD) (N = 140)*	*T value*	*df*	*Significance*
knowledge	41.07 (6.23)	38.50 (4.89)	4.48	346.75	.001

Table 4. Regression of newspaper use on science knowledge

	Std. Beta	*Standard Error*	*T*	*Significance*
Newspaper use	.104	.145	3.365	.0008

Multiple R = .104

R square = .01

Table 5. Independent t-test for science knowledge by gender

	Males Mean (& SD) (N = 463)	*Females Mean (& SD) (N = 577)*	*T value*	*df*	*Significance*
knowledge	41.32 (6.18)	39.31 (5.03)	-5.66	883.63	.001

Table 6. One-way analysis of variance with Bonferroni procedure for educational level and science knowledge

	Mean	*Std. Deviation*	*N*
less than high school	36.82^{abcd}	4.20	186
high school	39.59^{aef}	4.90	550
junior college	40.94^{bgh}	5.90	63
bachelor's degree	43.34^{cegi}	5.92	165
advanced degree	45.67^{dfhi}	6.03	75
	40.21	5.66	1,039

F = 59.61, df = 4, 1,034, p < .001

The letters a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h and i indicate which groups are statistically different.

One-way analysis of variance with Bonferroni procedure for age and science knowledge

	Mean	*Std. Deviation*	*N*
18 - 35	40.56^{a}	5.69	344
36 - 50	41.10^{b}	6.04	332
51 - 89	39.07^{ab}	5.07	362
	40.21	5.66	1,038

F = 12.28, df = 2, 1,035, p < .001

The letters a and b indicate which groups are statistically different.

Table 7. Factor analysis of science-attitude and environmental-action questions

	Initial Eigenvalues		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative
1	7.26	22.0	22.0
2	3.40	10.3	32.3
3	2.08	6.3	38.6
4	1.56	4.7	43.3
5	1.31	4.0	47.3
6	1.25	3.8	51.1
7	1.17	3.5	54.7
8	1.08	3.3	57.9

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Replace with mean option selected

Table 8. Rotated component matrix of science attitudes and environmental actions

	Factors							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
animal testing	-.10	-.19	.10	-.23	.09	-.40	-.16	.26
car pollution risk to family	.32	09	.75	-.00	-.07	.15	.15	-.06
car pollution risk to envir	.25	.13	.78	.01	-.13	.04	.16	-.03
car pollution will increase	.33	.05	.66	.18	.06	.15	.07	.00
pesticide risk to family	.77	.07	.07	.03	.21	.23	.09	.05
pesticide-free fruits	.23	.02	.07	.10	.15	.19	.56	.17
pesticide risk to envir.	.76	.10	.04	.04	.19	.20	.10	.06
drive less for envir.	.06	.11	.28	.11	.01	.00	.50	.23
protested for envir.	.05	-.01	-.06	.02	-.07	.03	.06	.71
worry too much about envir.	-.11	-.32	-.11	.22	.64	-.00	-.05	-.19
member of envir. group	.01	.10	-.01	.01	-.00	.06	.31	.64
pay to protect envir.	.07	.82	.12	.01	-.10	.02	.14	-.00
worry about progress	-.14	-.21	-.06	.12	.64	-.23	-.04	-.14
accept cuts to protect envir.	.07	.78	.04	.03	-.17	-.02	.17	.04
pay higher taxes for envir.	.12	.87	.10	.02	-.06	.02	.07	.06
growth harms envir.	.08	.06	.17	.61	.04	.01	-.11	.06
growth helps envir.	-.03	-.04	-.05	-.14	.55	.19	.09	-.07
science harms envir.	-.01	-.04	-.06	.62	.33	.11	.06	-.09
everything harms envir.	.20	.08	.08	.63	-.07	.07	-.03	.17
I help environment	.14	.21	-.02	.05	-.08	-.07	.54	-.06
factory pollution and family	.64	.03	.32	.01	-.06	.31	.13	.01
factory pollution and envir.	.63	-.00	.33	-.01	-.13	.22	.16	.02
nuclear risk to family	.35	-.06	.20	.14	-.00	.79	-.06	.11
nuclear risk to environment	.29	-.03	.22	.16	.00	.79	-.09	.08
recycle cans and bottles	.03	.07	.11	-.07	-.14	-.07	.65	.10
faith in science	.04	-.13	-.08	.44	.20	.18	.15	-.29
science solves envir. issues	-.02	.04	.03	.04	.58	-.05	-.07	.13
sciences makes things worse	.01	.01	.04	.73	-.04	.09	.15	-.04
greenhouse effect on family	.64	.17	.37	.21	-.13	.07	-.11	.05
greenhouse effect/envir.	.62	.17	.38	.20	-.16	.03	-.10	.06
difficult to solve envir.	.02	-.18	-.07	.34	.48	-.04	-.30	-.01
water pollution and family	.79	.01	.12	.06	-.16	.03	.13	-.02
water pollution and envir.	.76	.03	.07	.04	-.26	-.07	.15	-.06

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization
Rotation converged in eight iterations

Table 9. Hierarchical regression for science knowledge

Blocks of independent variables	*Std. beta*	*R-square change*	*Total R-square*	*Adjusted R-square*
1. Demographics				
- age	-.054^c			
- gender	.115^a			
- education	.175^a			
- intelligence measure	.210^a			
		.315^a	.315^a	.312
2. Science attitudes				
- industrial pollution	.014			
- higher prices and taxes	-.114^a			
- car pollution	-.075^b			
- faith in science	.142^a			
- economic growth	.313^a			
- nuclear power	.117^a			
- actions to protect envir.	-.072^b			
- protesting	-.075^b			
		.117^a	.426^a	.418
3. Media use				
- daily newspaper use	.036			
- daily TV news use	-.002			
		.001	.427^a	.418

a = $p < .001$

b = $p < .01$

c = $p < .05$

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The PBS Brand versus Cable Brands: Assessing the Brand Equity of Public Television in a Multichannel Environment

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The PBS Brand versus Cable Brands: Assessing the Brand Equity of Public Television in a Multi-channel Environment

With the increase in cable television penetration and ratings success, cable has developed into more than just a means of delivering over-the-air broadcast signals to subscribers. Cable television has become a collection of channels delivering a substantial amount of original programming to specific audience groups. Some of these channels provide highly rated documentaries and children's programs and serve the same audiences that have been the province of public television stations. In fact, many of the same programs produced by public television stations became staples of cable channels like Discovery, Art & Entertainment (A&E), and Nickelodeon. In a high-profile joint venture, the Children's Television Workshop (CTW) and Nickelodeon formed "Noggin," a commercial-free children's cable network targeting preschoolers, one of public television's core audience segments (Snyder, 1999). In addition, many commercial cable competitors are offering commercial-free preschool programming blocks, further blurring their differences with public television. Some argued that the growth of these educational cable networks has caused identity confusion and diminished the purpose of public television.

In response to the growing competition in today's multichannel environment, public television, namely PBS, has begun to harness the power of the PBS brand, rated in 1995 by the advertising agency Young and Rubicam second only to Disney as the most distinctive media brand in America (Schweitzer, 1997). PBS increased the strategic use of its "brand name" through more creative corporate sponsorships, merchandising/licensing agreements, and other back-end programming rights to generate more revenues. PBS has also significantly raised its promotional budget to fortify its already trusted PBS brand (Schweitzer, 1997; McConnell, 1998). According to a 1995 PBS survey, the PBS logo represents the words "informative," "educational," "enlightening," “respecting intelligence,” “responsible,” and “unique” (Rubel, 1995); however, with increasing competition from a number of growing cable brands such as Nickelodoen, Discovery, and A&E, does public television still hold a franchise for informative, educational, and enlightening/intellectual television programming? What is the value of the PBS brand today amidst a multichannel environment filled with programming choices? As economic factors are critical to understanding the function and power of local noncommercial media (Dorer, 1997), public television needs to find its particular characteristics and value (i.e., a distinctive brand image) that would appeal to loyal followers and offer opportunities to generate additional revenues in the midst of downward public funding and intensified competition from niche cable networks.

This paper assesses the brand equity of public television stations and PBS in a multichannel media environment by examining the brand image of public television and PBS in comparison to other competing cable networks and by exploring the impact of cable on the perceived value of public television. To provide more strategic insights for the management and marketing of public television, the authors also investigate the differences in brand equity among various segments of public television audiences (e.g., nonpublic television members versus members) and the variables that contribute to an audience's decision to become a public television member.[1]

The Development of a Public Television Brand

Public television has been associated with education and specialty programs in a variety of forms since the beginning of the service authorized by the FCC in 1952. In 1968, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) was established to provide federal funds for public television and radio stations. In 1972, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) was formed by public television stations across the country to exchange programs with each other via tape and interconnected service. These new programs expanded on programs being produced by local public television stations. Included in the mix were newly designed programs like *Sesame Street* and a nightly news presence, *The MacNeil/Leherer Report*. The PBS member stations began funding and producing programs and acquiring programming already produced (from the BBC and other sources). Many of these programs were educationally based, such as documentaries, science and nature programs, and "how-to" programs. *Nova, Great Performances*, *The Victory Garden*, and *This Old House* were among the programs developed, funded, and aired by public television stations. *Sesame Street, Mister Rogers's Neighborhood, Zoom,* and *The Electric Company* were among the children's programs developed, funded, and made successful through public television. Many BBC programs were imported including comedies and costume drama presented under umbrella series titles like *Masterpiece Theatre* and *Mystery* (Fuller & Furgeson, 1997; Stewart, 1999). The nature of these well-known public television programs established the public perception of public television as informative, educational, and intellectual and the observation that public television offers niche formats of documentaries, children's programming, in-depth news, how-tos, and British programming, rather than entertainment programming that attracts a mass audience.

Though they appeal to mostly an affluent, educated audience segment desirable by advertisers, public television stations were not very business savvy in the early days of funding PBS programs. It seemed to be enough to develop and produce programs that could further education and could be aired by member stations. In essence, the member stations "rented" the programs while the producers retained ownership and merchandising rights to the programs (Stewart, 1999). Under the pressure of diminishing federal funding, since 1994, PBS has planned to reinvent itself as a more "nimble, responsible, entrepreneurial organization" (Brunelli, 1995; Albiniak, 1997). As part of its battle plan to achieve this goal, PBS is working on building and maintaining its recognizable "PBS" brand, hoping to capitalize on the brand equity through strategic alliances and innovative revenue generating ventures (Beam, 1998). For example, PBS allied with Reader's Digest Association for the production of magazine-inspired TV programming. The shared revenues from video sales and other after-market ventures will provide an estimate of $75 million for PBS television program production during a five-year period. Strategic alliances with magazine publishers seem to be the trend not only for PBS but other cable networks to extend their brands and reach. For example, CNN works with Sports Illustrated on CNN/SI and the Learning Channel with Popular Science for various educational programs (Beam, 1998).

As part of its expansion strategy, PBS also tried to change the perception of its growth merely through increased financial support and enhanced member service. PBS has proposed to brand its services as "the Smithsonian, the Metropolitan Museum, the public library, the university of the air." To implement such strategies, PBS has a broadened program reach through PBS Home Video and is successful in catalog, transactional activities such as the web site, shopPBS (Schweitzer, 1997; Albiniak, 1997).

At the local level, more public television stations are approaching sponsors with strategic program packages that match the sponsors' products and missions (Mundy, 1997). There have also been tremendous growths in the use of the public television brand to generate additional revenues through merchandise licensing and partnership between the stations and educational product merchants such as the Store of Knowledge (Rubel, 1995). Realizing the importance of cultivating the value of its brand name, public television, especially PBS, has taken actions to protect its "brand" through various licensing agreements to cover the use of the PBS logo, brand name, trademarks, and the animated "P-Pals" logo characters on computer software, educational and developmental toys, CD-ROMs, games, and books (Rubel, 1995).

Seeking to reassert its position among the A&Es and Nickelodeons, PBS is also committing more resources into promoting its shows and its "brand" as the last word in children's and documentary programming (Albiniak, 1997). In 1998, PBS increased its promotion budget by 17 percent (McConnell, 1998). The promotion efforts are mostly aimed to differentiate PBS from other cable networks and create co-branding opportunities with local stations such as spots that plug a station's local call letters along with the PBS logo.

In response to the arrival of the digital age, PBS member stations have suggested revenue-generating ideas such setting up some of the extra spectrum as separate subscription channels (Mundy, 1997). Corporation for Public Broadcasting is also weighing the creation of a second Public Broadcasting Service network to take advantage of distribution infrastructure that it has in place and the digital possibilities with different ownership, operational structures, programming and financial resources (Brockinton, 1997). Regardless of the operational and financial structures that might be implemented when the conversion is completed, public television will be expanding its territory with more channels to program. The success of these expansion plans will largely depend on public television's efforts to maintain and further its trusted, quality brand image in the increasingly crowded media marketplace.

Multichannel Media Competition

Raboy (1998) proposed that, in its simplest terms, the multichannel environment represents a structural change to which all broadcasters, public and private, must adapt. He suggested that developing new services, making innovative partnerships, and focusing on serving local needs and interests are paramount for success in this multichannel environment (Raboy, 1998). As a noncommercial entity, public television does not regard itself as a noncompetitive market participant. While the commercial broadcast television has lost a significant audience share to cable (Stanley, 1998), public television is feeling the heat from a growing menu of cable programs that resemble public television programming. As media consumers' perceived value of the PBS/public television brand is influenced by the programming options available to them, it's important to review the alternatives of public television programming in today's multichannel environment.

The Discovery Networks (including Discovery, The Learning Channel, and Animal Planet) are some of the strongest niche programming competitors to public television. The Discovery Channel, once thought of as a repository for off-PBS reruns, has managed to become a video showcase of historical and archaeological discovery with the help of original programming like *Wild Discovery*. Another strong contestant, Arts & Entertainment, which designs its programming to attract a select, affluent audience, has grown to become one of largest cable networks, generating relatively significant ratings during prime time with signature programs such as *Biography*. The History Channel, as one of the fastest-growing networks on cable, is steadily gaining viewership with signature programs such as *20th Century with Mike Wallace* (Worrell, 1998). As for children's programming, with a mission to "connect kids to their world through entertainment," Nickelodeon is one of the top media organizations that deliver the 2-11 demographic segment sought after by advertisers. Filled with original animations as well as live action programs, Nickelodeon's average ratings grew over 10 percent from 1997 to 1998 (Burgi, 1998).

The competitive force of the multichannel environment is especially evident in the children's television market. Faced with more competition from Disney Channel, The Cartoon Network and Fox Family Channel, Nickelodeon increased spending on its original programming budget by 25 percent in 1998 (McConville, 1998). The arrival of the digital age in a broadband environment attracted even more niche children's programming providers. While Niceklodeon launched GAS (Games and Sports) in 1999, Disney introduced Toon Disney and the Discovery Networks added Discovery Kids (Higgins, 1999).

Public television is also facing an unprecedented pressure to keep existing and new shows from migrating to other cable networks as more cable outlets are looking for documentaries and children's programming. For example, in addition to its alliance with Discovery to establish a BBC America cable channel, BBC is launching a free digital children's channel (Davenport, 1998). PBS's *The Magic School Bus* went to Fox in 1998. And as one of the most serious threats for the PBS children's franchise, CTW and Nickelodeon jointly created a new commercial-free cable network, Noggin. The educational channel targets the 2-11 audience, one of the PBS core segments. In fact, Noggin is the "flagship network" of four Nickelodeon channels in the 10-channel MTV Networks digital tier. Noggin is drawing heavily from CTW and Nickelodeon programming libraries. The network includes vintage *Sesame Street* titles and Nickelodeon's popular *Blue's Clues* show. First-run episodes of both programs continue to run on PBS and Nickelodeon. Noggin is beginning to produce original programming and has a web site that complements programming and is designed for use by kids, parents, and teachers, similar to those provided by PBS's popular web site, www.pbs.org (Snyder, 1999).

The competing cable networks are veterans in branding their media properties. Managers at the Discovery Networks have indicated the necessity of marketing their services as a brand. A&E has also identified its brand image as the source for biographies, mysteries and specials for affluent, educated audiences (Burgi, 1995). Nickelodeon and CTW have implemented a branding campaign for Noggin with the help from an ad agency, Ogilvy & Mather (Snyder, 1999). Though many broadcasting industry practitioners have viewed branding as a design and copyrighting function, some argued that branding is about relationships with consumers, not graphics (Chan-Olmsted & Kim, 1999). All in all, branding or brand management has become an increasingly important marketing concept for both commercial and non-commercial broadcasters as they face the reality of media proliferation and audience fragmentation.

Branding and Brand Equity

Research has shown that the PBS logo represents the words "informative," "educational," "enlightening," "respecting intelligence," "responsible," and "unique" (Rubel, 1995). It seems that public television has acquired a relatively positive brand image over the years. What exactly is a brand and what is the value of a brand? A brand is simply a collection of perceptions in the mind of the consumer. At its simplest, a brand is a recognizable and trustworthy badge of origin, and also a promise of performance. The purpose of branding is to create high brand familiarity and positive brand image, which contribute to the building of brand equity.

Brand equity has been the focus of numerous marketing and advertising studies (Aaker, 1991; Aaker & Biel, 1992; Cobb-Walgren, Ruble & Donthu, 1995). Brand equity may be defined as the "added value" of a brand to a product, which can be measured from either the firm's, channel member's, or the consumer's perspective (Farguhar, 1989). Biel (1992) suggested that from a consumer's perspective, brand equity reflects the consumer's psychological judgment such as willingness to pay for a branded product and all related-image factors. Keller (1998) provided a conceptual framework of what brands mean to consumers and what this implies for marketing strategies. He defined this

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perspective as "the differential effect that brand knowledge has on consumer response to the marketing of that brand" (p. 45). Thus marketers would try to increase brand knowledge of their products in consumers' minds. Brand knowledge can be categorized into brand awareness and brand image (Keller, 1998). He argued that customer-based brand equity occurs when the consumer is familiar with the brand and holds some favorable, strong, and unique brand associations in memory. He went on to propose that brand equity is closely related to two dimensions of a brand: *brand awareness or familiarity*, which includes brand recall and brand recognition; and *brand image*, which is a combination of the types of brand association, favorability of brand associations, strength of brand associations, and uniqueness of brand.

The goal of marketing and promotion is to enhance the brand value among consumers, that is, brand equity (Aaker, 1991; Aaker & Biel, 1992). Researchers have repeatedly argued that brand equity enhances the effectiveness and efficiency of marketing activities and provides more margins to the firms due to higher perceived quality and brand royalty (Aaker, 1992; Belch & Belch, 1995). There are two approaches in measuring brand equity: measuring sources of brand equity or measuring outcomes of brand equity (Kelly, 1998). Measuring sources of brand equity implies an indirect measurement of brand equity. "The indirect approach attempts to assess potential sources for the customer-based brand equity by measuring brand knowledge structure" (Kelly, 1998, p. 75). On the other hand, measuring outcomes of brand equity is a more direct approach of brand equity measurement, which may include comparative methods (assessing the value of consumers' perceptions in the market) and holistic methods (estimating the overall dollar value of a brand) (Blackstone, 1990; Yovovich, 1988;

Kamakura & Russell, 1993). Both outcome measurements are closely related to financial valuation, the ultimate goal of the marketing efforts.

As public television is not a for-profit entity and is directly supported by its audience's "perception" of its value via membership (as opposed to advertisers' perceived value of the audience), this study subscribed to the customer-based brand equity framework and attempted to measure the sources of brand equity rather than outcomes.

Accordingly, the authors addressed the following research questions:

1. What is the brand equity of public television, especially for PBS, in today's multichannel environment?
2. How has cable affected the perceived value of public television among its viewers?
3. What different audience segments are there for public television considering the competition from comparable cable channels?
4. What factors contribute to an audience's becoming a member of his/her local public television station in today's multichannel environment?

Following Kelly's (1998) conceptual approach, the authors assessed the brand equity of public television through the examination of its brand image as perceived by public television viewers (including members and non-members). As indicated earlier, brand awareness including recall and recognition is also an important tool for measuring brand equity. However, the authors did not measure brand awareness in this study because public television, especially PBS, garnered a perfect level of awareness during our focus groups research phase as well as the pretest of the survey instrument on both members and non-members. The factor of brand awareness could not have made meaningful differentiation to the subjects of focus. Thus, the assessment of brand equity was re-characterized to consist of only brand image variables.

Methods

A two-step data gathering procedure was applied for this study. The authors first conducted three focus groups to explore the current brand image of PBS and public television in general. The focus groups also investigated participants' attitudes and opinions toward various types of public television programming and cable television. The focus group research method was chosen to generate impressions and in-depth discussions of public television and cable television, which in turn facilitated the design of the survey instrument for the audience survey phase. Focus group participants were recruited from a public television station's list of current members as well as nonmembers randomly selected from the white pages of a local phone book.[2] The randomly selected subjects were contacted by phone and evaluated according to a pre-qualifying screening questionnaire that ensured the participants were regular public television and cable TV viewers.[3] Each focus group session consisted of 8 participants with equal numbers of members and nonmembers, who were interviewed in an informal setting at a local public TV station in the spring of 1999.

During the second phase of the study, an audience telephone survey was conducted. The authors decided to use a disproportionate stratified sample, using public television station membership as the stratification variable to ensure an adequate presence of the current public television members. Thus, while half of the sample was randomly drawn from a public television station's membership list, the other half was randomly selected from the non-member television audiences resided in the viewing area of that particular local public TV station using a random digit dialing technique.[4] Only households that regularly watched at least one hour of public television and one hour of cable specific programming a week were invited to participate in the telephone survey. After a pilot survey of 15 participants, a telephone survey was conducted during a two-week period by trained student interviewers in the spring of 1999. A total of 213 telephone questionnaires were completed with an overall response rate of 45 percent. The respondents included 115 members (60 percent response rate) and 98 non-members (40 percent response rate).[5] The member stratum was over-sampled because the authors considered the current member's perceived impact of cable television to be essential in assessing the brand equity of public television.

A mostly closed-ended questionnaire was designed to measure four types of variables: audience characteristics variables describing demographics and media usage; perception variables measuring the perceived impact of cable on public television and the value of both public and cable TV; satisfaction variables assessing interviewees' degree of satisfaction toward various types of public television programming and the comparable cable networks[6]; and finally, image variables derived from the focus groups' discussions of public television and prior PBS image literature (Rubel, 1995). Accordingly, the audience variables included age, income, education, size of household, presence of children in the household, and number of hours spent using television, public television, newspaper, radio, and the Internet (both participant's household and children's TV usage, if any). The perception variables compared the perceived quality and variety of programming as well as educational value[7] between public and cable television. The authors also investigated the perceived importance of public TV amidst the availability of comparable cable networks. The perception variables were measured on a 1-5 scale (5-strongly agree, 4-agree, 3-neutral, 2-disagree, 1-strongly disagree). The terms used to assess the image of PBS against other comparable cable networks included words such as "trustworthy," "unique," "enlightening," "variety," "relaxed," "intelligent," "informative," "quality," "educational," "exciting," and "responsible." The respondents were asked to rate each of the image descriptions on the specified networks using a 1-10 scale with 1 being definitely inappropriate and 10 being definitely appropriate. Instead of the general term of public television, PBS as a specific national programming network was used in the survey to create a more comparable environment in assessing network images. To select the comparable cable networks for making perception and image comparisons, the authors interviewed two public television station general managers to name the cable networks that they perceived to be in direct competition with public television. The cable networks identified were The Discovery Channel, Arts & Entertainment, The Learning Channel, Nickelodeon, and Disney.

Results

Brand Equity of Public Television in a Multichannel Environment

The focus group participants overwhelmingly indicated that "quality" programming and the commercial-free viewing environment were the most valuable assets of public television. For participants with children in the households, the ability for them to "trust" the PBS institution, and the quality of its children's programming, is another strong appeal. The focus groups also disclosed that while they view public television as a source of quality programming, they do explore cable channels such as A&E and Discovery for similar types of programming, especially for their signature programs such as *Biography* and *Wild Discovery.*

Table 1 shows the comparative brand image of PBS and the selected cable networks. The Discovery Channel was perceived to be the most comparable cable counterpart to PBS, while Nickelodeon was the least. PBS scored higher than all other cable networks in all terms except for "exciting," in which Discovery took the lead. Overall, PBS's equity seemed to rest especially in its trustworthiness, intelligence, and informative/educational value. It's interesting that while A&E was mentioned frequently by the focus group participants as a comparable cable network to PBS, it garnered the lowest score in trustworthiness along with Nickelodeon. Its image scores also differed the most from those of PBS when children's cable networks were excluded from the comparison. The authors performed paired-sample t-tests on the image variables of each pair (e.g., trustworthy between PBS and Discovery) and found all differences of means between groups to be statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Differences in the perceived brand image of PBS between public television members and non-members. It seems that public television station members and non-members had significantly different images of PBS (see Table 2). Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was administered using the membership variable and the image terms as independent and dependent variables. As suspected, PBS scored higher among members than non-members overall (Wilks' Lambda = .887, F = 1.874, df = 11, p = .046). Specifically, PBS was perceived by members to be more "exciting" (F = 11.838, p = .001), more "enlightening" (F = 6.913, p = .009), and of higher "quality" (F = 6.897, p = .009) than by the non-members.[8] The terms "trustworthy," "unique," "variety," "relaxed," "educational," and "responsible" did not show any significant difference between members and non-members. Other analyses on cable networks found that non-members were much more likely to regard The Learning Channel, Disney, and Nickelodeon to be "trustworthy" than members. Also non-members were much more likely to regard The Learning Channel as "unique" than members and to perceive Nickelodeon and Disney as "enlightening" than members.

After obtaining a significant F test with a MANOVA, the authors also performed a discriminant analysis to measure the role of different brand images in differentiating members from non-members (Wilks' Lambda = .887, chi-square = 19.936, df = 11, p = .046) (see Table 3). The most important image terms for differentiating membership seemed to be "exciting," followed by "enlightening" and "quality." Image terms such as "responsible," "educational," and "trustworthy" were relatively non-critical in determining membership. The discriminant functions seem to indicate that an image of lively, quality content is a much better predictor of public television membership than an image of a socially responsible learning institution.

Relationship between audience characteristics and perceived brand images of PBS. Audience characteristics did not seem to influence the perceived brand image of PBS as the majority of the demographic and media usage variables did not show any significant relationship against the image terms investigated. The exceptions were "number of hours watching television per week" in relation to "educational" (r = .212, p = .003), and "age" in relation to "enlightening" (r = .200, p = .005) and "exciting" (r = .234, p = .001).[9] It seems that the more established audience segment (higher income and age) was more likely to view PBS as interesting and lively and heavier TV viewers, after sampling hours of TV programming, were more likely to regard PBS as educational.

The Perceived Impact of Cable Television

Table 4 compared the perceived quality, variety, educational value, and importance between public and cable television. Public television was not perceived as offering the quality or variety of programming that cable cannot emulate. While the participants, to a certain degree, perceived public television to have higher quality programming, they did not definitely agree that such public TV quality is not replaceable by cable. Contrary to the authors' expectation, the interviewees did not agree that cable has changed their public TV viewing behavior, nor did they concur that public TV is less important now considering the availability of cable. The only statement that the interviewees agreed on was public television's role as the leader of educational programming. In essence, the good news is that cable has not created as big an impact on public television as perceived by its viewers at the time of the survey. The bad news is that public television, while perceived positively, is not unmatchable by its cable counterpart.

To investigate the impact of the perception variables on membership, a discriminant analysis was administered. One valid discriminant function was obtained from the analysis (Wilks' Lambda = .839, chi-square = 33.109, df = 6, p = .000) (Table 5). The structure matrix clearly indicated that the perceptions of superior quality and educational programming played a major role in differentiating members from non-members. On the other hand, the perceived impact of cable on public television did not contribute to the difference in membership status.

Public Television Audience Segments in a Multichannel Environment

Two distinct public television audience segments emerged from the focus groups analysis. One audience segment may be labeled as "Avid Media Users," who spent long hours using media and/or the Internet and whose children, if any, were medium to heavy TV users who watched children's programming on public TV regularly. These viewers were overall very satisfied with public television, especially in the area of children's programming. "The Avid Media Users" were not as enthusiastic about public television's documentaries, arts and music type programming. They were also more open to cable programming, especially to those on Nickelodeon. The other audience segment maybe labeled as "the Sophisticated Public TV Traditionalists," composed of viewers who were more educated, mature, and affluent. They did not spend time on new media such as the Internet and they did not watch as much TV as the other group. While these viewers were satisfied overall with the public TV, they thought public television stations should offer more local programming. They were more satisfied than the other segment with dramas, comedies, documentaries, arts and music, and science and nature programs.

The majority of the public television audience appeared to be light public television viewers as 47 percent of the interviewed households spent three or less hours a week watching public television programs. About 25 percent of the audience households watched between three to seven hours a week. While 16 percent of the households spent 7-14 hours on public television, less than 12 percent were heavy users, watching over 14 hours of public television per week. Note that an average household spends over seven hours a day watching TV in the U.S. The level of public television viewing was significantly related to the number of hours spent reading newspapers (r=.283; p=.000), number of hours spent watching TV (r=.411; p=.000), number of hours the children in the household spent watching TV (r=.395; p=.021), income (r=.193; r=.009), and age (r=.356; p=.000). It's interesting that subscription to cable and the number of hours spent watching cable programs were not significantly related to the level of public television viewing. In regards to membership differences, members tend to be heavier newspaper readers, spent more time watching public television, and generally had higher education, income, and age (see Table 6).

Factors Contributing to Public Television Membership

A discriminant analysis was performed to assess the role of audience characteristics in determining public television membership. One valid discriminant function was obtained from the analysis (Wilks' Lambda = .682, chi-square = 58.640, df

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= 10, p = .000) (Table 7). As indicated in the structure matrix, age was the most sensitive variable, followed by the number of hours spent watching public TV, annual household income, and level of formal education. The structure matrix seemed to indicate a discriminant function representing "social stability" latent variables. The audience's time spent with other media such as newspapers, radio, television or the Internet was not overall an important factor in affecting his/her membership status. It is evident that public television members are a very unique group of media users who are more established, mature, and with a lifestyle not driven by media usage.

The authors also investigated the interviewed non-members' likelihood to become a public television station member using a four-point scale (1-not likely at all; 2-not likely; 3-likely; 4-very likely). To assess the factors that might contribute to a non-member becoming a member, the relationship between likelihood of becoming members and the perception, audience characteristics, image, and satisfaction variables were measured.

The Pearson correlations were run to each relationship. The perceptions about cable TV and public TV such as "public TV offers quality programming that cable TV cannot provide" (r = .298, p = .004), and "public TV has the best quality program" (r = .437, p = .000) have significant positive relationship to the likelihood of someone becoming a member. The perception of quality programming seems to be a strong motivator of becoming a public television member. To a lesser degree, the perceptions that "public TV is the leader in educational programs (r = .246, p = .017)" and "public TV offers variety of programming that cable TV cannot provide (r = .262, p = .013)" also related to the membership status. As expected, satisfactions with various programming types on public TV have significant relationships with the likelihood of being members. The correlations were especially strong for arts and music (r=.517; p=.000) and science and nature programming (r=.414; p=.000), followed by dramas and comedies (r= .339; p=.004) and documentaries (r=.323; p=.004). It's interesting that satisfactions with other comparable cable channels did not show any significant relationships with the likelihood of becoming members. Surprisingly, none of the audience characteristics were significantly related to the likelihood of becoming members except for the obvious media usage variable of "the number of hours per week spent watching public TV" (r = .240, p = .023). The authors also found that non-members are more likely to become members when they are satisfied with their public TV stations' local, arts and music, and science and nature programming (surprisingly, not children's programming).

As for the brand image factor, the Pearson correlations revealed that as a non-member perceives PBS to be more "exciting" (r = .511, p = .000), to have higher "quality" (r = .381, p = .000), to be more "educational" (r = .345, p = .001), to have more "variety" (r = .335, p = .002), to be more "informative" (r = .320, p = 003), and to be more "intelligent" (r = .310, p = .003) (in that order), he or she would be more likely to become a member of a public TV station. Again, it's interesting to find that none of the brand image variables of other comparable cable channels showed a significant relationship against the likelihood of becoming a public TV member. The positive perception of public television, especially for PBS, results from more an audience member's decision to contribute to a public television station than the factor of competition posed by its cable counterpart.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study found that public television continues to enjoy a very positive brand image among its viewers. Its equity rests primarily in the area of "quality," "educational value," and "trustworthiness." The popularity of the comparable cable networks such as A&E, Discovery, and Nickelodeon did not seem to dilute the positive brand perception of public television, nor did it change significantly the perceived importance of public television and the audience's viewing behavior (as reported by the audience). Furthermore, the level of satisfaction with the comparable cable networks did not play a role in determining a non-member's decision to become a member. In essence, while comparable cable networks may compete for the viewer's eyeballs to a certain degree, they are not the competitive force that may threaten the development of public television membership. The authors conclude that public television still enjoys a degree of brand awareness and favorable image that are currently unmatchable by its cable counterpart's; however, the obstacle of growth for public television in an increasingly fragmented multichannel environment will stem from public television's inability to develop beyond an "unexciting" brand personality. As cable programming continues to evolve, public television needs to face the fact that its loyal contributors, who grew up mostly from the pre-cable era, are aging, while the younger media consumers' perception of public television continues to be shaped by the programming content and format available on cable. In other words, public television must rethink its brand equity building efforts so to solidify different potential contributor segments.

It is evident that the majority of current public television members are an elite group of media users who are more established, older, and have a lifestyle not driven by media usage. They are the audiences who loyally consider PBS to be exciting and enlightening, quite different from what non-members considered it to be. In fact, the brand image of an exciting and enlightening public television significantly increases a public television viewer's potential to contribute to his/her local public television station. It seems that the challenge for public television today is not the competing programming offered by cable networks, though they may somewhat impact the ratings performance of public TV programming, but the tasks of repositioning public television as a source of lively, interesting quality programming, amidst all the fast-paced, seemingly exciting cable programming.

Table 1
The Comparative Brand Image of PBS versus Selected Cable Networks

Image Variable		**PBS**	**Discovery**	**TLC**	**A&E**	**Nickelodeon**	**Disney**
Trustworthy	Mean	4.56	4.02/-.54*	3.98/-.58	3.36/-1.2	3.36/-1.2	3.56/-1.0
	SD	.77	.78	.88	.83	1.20	1.22
Unique	Mean	4.24	3.97/-.27	3.72/-.52	3.77/-.47	3.44/-.8	3.47/-.77
	SD	.90	.94	1.02	.97	1.30	1.23
Enlightening	Mean	4.38	4.22/-.16	3.89/-.49	3.79/-.59	2.72/-1.66	2.94/-1.44
	SD	.84	.84	.99	.98	1.17	1.18
Variety	Mean	4.14	3.77/-.37	3.65/-.49	3.82/-.32	3.05/-1.09	3.37/-.77
	SD	.90	.89	1.04	.88	1.14	1.17
Relaxed	Mean	3.95	3.64/-.31	3.52/-.43	3.73/-.22	2.96/-.99	3.30/-.65
	SD	.96	.92	.90	.88	1.23	1.18
Intelligent	Mean	4.56	4.32/-.24	4.07/-.49	3.99/-.57	2.75/-1.81	2.97/-1.59
	SD	.76	.82	.98	.91	1.16	1.10
Informative	Mean	4.53	4.36/-.17	4.00/-.53	3.76/-.77	2.59/-1.94	2.85/-1.68
	SD	.83	.80	1.07	1.00	1.15	1.26
Quality	Mean	4.39	4.19/-.2	3.90/-.49	3.95/-.44	3.16/-1.23	3.39/-1.0
	SD	.90	.89	.98	.98	1.22	1.23
Educational	Mean	4.49	4.39/-.1	4.16/-.33	3.66/-.83	2.90/-1.59	3.00/-1.49
	SD	.83	.81	.97	1.02	1.20	1.20
Exciting	Mean	3.55	3.72/.17	3.43/-.12	3.55/0	2.94/-.61	3.06/-.49
	SD	1.05	1.00	1.13	.99	1.28	1.13
Responsible	Mean	4.41	4.12/-.29	3.91/-.5	3.82-.59	2.97/1.44	3.31/-1.1
	SD	.83	.92	.95	.96	1.26	1.16

*The difference in means between PBS and the specified cable network.

Table 2
PBS Images between Public Television Station Members and Non-members

Image	Members		Nonmembers	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Trustworthy	4.58	.84	4.55	.67
Unique	4.33	.89	4.12	.91
Enlightening	4.55	.72	4.15	.92
Variety	4.30	.78	3.93	1.00
Relaxed	4.05	.89	3.81	1.05
Intelligent	4.67	.62	4.41	.88
Informative	4.64	.68	4.38	.98
Quality	4.54	.79	4.18	1.00
Educational	4.54	.81	4.42	.86
Exciting	3.81	.92	3.21	1.12
Responsible	4.46	.81	4.35	.85

Table 3
Discriminant Function Coefficients of Brand Image Variables

Image Variables	Standardized Coefficients	Structure Matrix
Exciting	.744	.735
Enlightening	.559	.562
Quality	.388	.561
Intelligent	.168	.444
Informative	.255	.434
Variety	-.187	.387
Unique	-.028	.313
Relaxed	-.080	.303
Responsible	-.214	.182
Educational	-.713	.169
Trustworthy	-.295	-.002

Wilks' Lambda = .887, chi-square = 19.936, df = 11, p = .046

Table 4
Perceptions of Public Television Versus Cable Television

	Mean*	SD
Public TV is the leader in educational programs among all available TV channels (including cable)	4.08	0.91
Public TV has the best quality programs among all available TV channels (including cable)	3.75	1.06
Public TV offers quality programming that cable TV cannot provide	3.68	1.03
Public TV offers variety of programming that cable TV cannot provide	3.30	1.13
Cable TV has changed the way I watch public TV	2.92	1.28
Public TV is less important today because of all the cable channels available	2.66	1.25

*All perception variables were statistically significant (p=.000).

Table 5
Discriminant Function Coefficients of Perception Variables

	Standardized Coefficients	Structure Matrix
Public TV has the best quality programs among all available TV channels (including cable)	.870	.923
Public TV is the leader in educational programs among all available TV channels (including cable)	.366	.697
Public TV offers quality programming that cable TV cannot provide	-.345	.446
Public TV offers variety of programming that cable TV cannot provide	.089	.419
Public TV is less important today because of all the cable channels available	-.069	.414
Cable TV has changed the way I watch public TV	-.092	.325

Wilks' Lambda = .839, chi-square = 33.109, df = 6, p = .000

Table 6
Audience Characteristics between Public Television Station Members and Non-members

Characteristics*	Members		Nonmembers	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	3.79	1.35	2.63	1.58
Number of hours per week spent watching public TV	6.97	5.72	3.56	4.44
Annual household income	4.59	2.89	2.78	2.02
Level of formal education	4.06	.99	3.29	1.20
Number of hours per week spent reading newspaper	4.77	3.18	3.32	3.44

*Only statistically significant variables are listed here (p<.01)

Table 7
Discriminant Function Coefficients of Demographic Variables

	Standardized Coefficients	Structure Matrix
Age	.612	.564
Number of hours per week spent watching public TV	-.033	.528
Annual household income	.597	.505
Level of formal education	.217	.379
Number of people in the household	-.101	-.273
Number of children ages 2-11	.088	-.233
Number of hours per week spent reading newspaper	-.033	.164
Number of hours per week spent listening to radio	.019	.105
Number of hours per week spent watching TV	-.254	-.068
Number of hours per week using the internet	.025	-.035

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Endnotes

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[1] In the context of this paper, a person will have to contribute a certain minimum amount of money directly to a particular local public television station in exchange of certain membership privileges to be classified as a member of a public television station.

[2] The public television station is located in the southeastern U.S. The non-members selected were residing in the area served by the particular local public television station at the time of the research.

[3] In order to be qualified to participate, the person contacted had to watch at least one hour of public TV programming and one hour of cable programming per week. The participants also had to be unaffiliated with any media organizations and had not participated in any focus groups for the last three months.

[4] A randomly selected household was excluded if it indicated that it contributed to a public television station at the time of the survey to draw the non-member half of the sample.

[5] The authors have anticipated that the members would be more inclined to participate in the survey than the non-members.

[6] The degree of satisfaction on a 1-5 scale with 1 being the lowest and 5 the highest was measured on the audience satisfaction of children's programming, dramas and comedies, documentaries, arts and music programming, and science and nature programming on public television. The same scale was used to measure the overall satisfaction with the comparable cable networks.

[7] The educational function of public television was specifically discussed since it is historically the main mission of public television.

[8] To a lesser degree in statistical significance ($p<.05$), the members perceived PBS to be more intelligent ($F = 4.313$, $p = .039$) and more informative ($F = 4.126$, $p = .044$) than the non-members.

[9] To a lesser degree in statistical significance ($p<.05$), "number of hours spent watching television per week" was related to "enlightening" ($r = .174$, $p = .015$), "variety" ($r = .164$, $p = .022$), "quality" ($r = .177$, $p = .016$), and "responsible" ($r = .180$, $p = .014$); "number of children ages 2 to 11 in the household" was related to "informative" ($r = .153$, $p = .040$); and "income" to "intelligent" ($r = .171$, $p = .027$).

Discrepancy of Gratifications of Online News Readers

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Running Head: Discrepancy of Gratifications of Online News Readers

This paper submitted to the International Communication Division,
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Abstract

Discrepancy of gratifications of online news among U.S. and foreign readers was investigated based on different themes of gratifications including remote access, immediacy, surveillance, and entertainment. The discrepancy between GS and GO was demonstrated to be of statistical significance. Besides, due to the fact that online news provides instant access to hometown news anywhere in the world, international participants of the survey revealed a very active use of the medium with more experience.

Discrepancy of Gratifications of Online News Readers

The online newspaper is a relatively new medium that is growing at an unprecedented rate and gaining popularity among a wide range of audiences. In 1994, there were only about 20 online newspapers in the world, while in 1997 the total number of newspapers publishing on the Internet had grown to nearly 3,600. As of December 1998, more than 3,000 Web based news sites exist in the United States alone. Today, between 15 percent and 25 percent of Americans receive news online at least weekly, compared to 4 percent in 1995 (Noack, 1999). In 1999, it was reported that 98% of leading newspapers provide online products and it is increasingly rare to find a daily newspaper without an online edition (Newspaper Association America, 1999).

However, with more newspapers coming online, a considerable number of companies have chosen to quit online publishing. This is likely because most online newspapers are losing money: survey results show that only 10% of US online newspaper companies are making money (Levin, 1997). According to News Link's census conducted in July and August 1997, more than 100 newspapers "had pulled the plug on unprofitable web sites."

Because it is still in its infancy, the success and durability of the online newspaper as a mass medium has yet to be demonstrated. Further, a number of topics, such as content features, advertising, network culture, new media elements, ethical/social and legal concerns, opened by this new medium have yet to be explored. Among these research questions, a number of issues arise regarding the satisfaction people expect and obtain through the use of online newspapers. To better understand the new medium, this study will compare audiences' expectations regarding online newspapers' content prior to their exposure to it, and, subsequently, the satisfaction they obtain through its use.

Within a number of media audience investigations, the uses and gratifications approach has proven to be a useful method for the study of new media. One topic examined by the uses and gratifications approach investigates the discrepancy between gratification sought (GS) and gratification obtained by media users (GO). The expectations users form prior to their exposure to a particular medium may not match the gratification they obtain from the exposure and, consequently, discrepancies between GS and GO may occur. Because discrepancies between GS and GO may motivate changes in media consumption behaviors, the measurement of such discrepancies can be used to evaluate a given medium. When the discrepancy between GS and GO is small, it is expected that use of that medium will be high, whereas the larger the discrepancy, the lower the level of expected media use. Consequently the size of discrepancy between GS and GO should be a good indication of continued use for a particular medium.

As online newspapers develop, newspaper companies are investigating which formats and content gain acceptance among online audiences. Further, they seek to determine what features will entice more people to use online newspapers. This study endeavors to discover the relationship between the GS and GO of online newspaper users, and as a tool to guide the new medium to have better content and format. The ultimate goal is that online newspapers will be more in tune with reader's expectations.

Literature Review

The online newspaper was made possible through the development of videotex technology. In its early days in Europe, subscribers of videotex used the information service mainly for e-mail feature, chat boards, reservations, and to play games, but not for information gathering (Cameron and Curtin, 1998). Within the United States, videotex development began in 1978. The first commercial service in the United States, *The*

Source, came online in 1979, but was not very successful: E-mail feature was most frequently used, followed by bulletin boards, and chat lines. News was not popular at all. Concurrently, a few print newspapers started independent electronic publishing, such as Knight-Ridder's *Viewtron* and Time Mirror's *Gateway*, but with losses in the tens of millions of dollars, these early ventures into online news failed (Park, 1996). In the early 1980s, the Associated Press also experimented with the *E-papers*, but had little success. Industry analysts even claimed online newspapers dead as a mass medium. Nevertheless, with the rapid increase of personal computers and access to the Internet, more and more newspaper companies have been involved in online publishing since the late 1980s.

The growth in online news services reflects the trend in the Internet access. In 1997, about 24% of the US population was reported to be accessing the Internet (Lindstrom, 1997), and it is estimated that in the year 2000, 50% of the U.S. homes will have online access (Gubman and Greer, 1997). From the 20 online newspapers available in 1994, the total number of newspapers being published on the Internet was close to 3,600, nearly 80% more than many experts had been predicting by the end of 1997. It is now estimated that more than 4000 newspapers could be online in the U.S. alone by 2000 (Cho, 1998).

Of course, there are substantial shortcomings that threaten the future of online newspapers. For example, the small screen of a computer is inhospitable to long text, and hypertext jumps make it easy to get lost in cyber space. Muller and Kamerer (1995) investigated reader preferences for online newspapers and reported a list of problems: browsing difficulty, inappropriateness for comprehensive news material, and low readability level of screen text. They concluded that, although an online newspaper is a useful resource, it is no substitute for a printed newspaper; "With current technology the

Internet is at best an adventure, at worst a nightmare (p. 3)." In an independent survey of 602 editors and publishers in New England, most respondents (91%) also said online newspaper would never replace the traditional newspaper (Alexander, 1997).

Nevertheless, online newspapers have many revolutionary aspects, such as the ability to provide immediate updates without space limitations. Anyone with Internet access can read, watch, and listen to the same online newspaper at any place in the world at the same time. George (1993) contends that the computer is the perfect complement to the newspaper. "It (the computer) enables the existing industry to deliver its product in real time. It hugely increases the quantity of information that can be made available. It opens the way to upgrading the news with full screen photographs and videos (p. 141)." During times of crisis and national events ranging from the bombing at the summer Olympics in 1996, TWA Flight 800 explosion, to the Cliton investigation in 1998, online newspapers attracted more than a hundred million Americans to their computer screens (Levins, 1997, 58). It is reported, in a recent study, that 29 percent of online service users log on to read newspapers and magazines. Elderkin (1996) goes so far as to claim that "the printing press is dead . . . although it is not gone immediately."

It is clear that the online newspaper has the capacity to transform the news industry. Where print and broadcast media are limited by both time and space, it is not. The online newspaper can give users as much, or as little, information as they want. Thus, although most online newspapers are still losing money, traditional news media outlets, both print and broadcast, are currently flocking to the Internet, trying to get in on the ground floor of what is becoming the largest single medium for the dissemination of news and information. After all, no one wants to be left out of the game.

Most of the contents on current online news, however, look much more like the same old stories, and very little like a "totally new online news world". Many critics point out that it is essentially just reformatting the existing content from the print or broadcast source. Harper (1997) contends that the online stories are virtually the same as those in the old media although they are organized in a more readable fashion. However, as Negroponte (1996) states, it is natural, in the course of development, to re-purpose old content to suit the needs of a new medium, just as film reused plays and television recycled movies. After all, there is nothing wrong with a new medium relying on the existing material to help in its own development.

Pavlik et al. (1997) have outlined online journalism in three stages. Currently, the Internet is lingering around on stage one: online newspapers are mostly re-purposing content from their mother ships. Some of the better news sites have evolved into stage two. In stage two, they are producing original content for the sites and enhancing the text with hyperlinks and interactive components such as search engines. Negroponte calls this aspect "hypermedia." It is "an expression of an idea or train of thought that can include a multidimensional network of pointers to further elaboration or arguments, which can be invoked or ignored (1996, p.70)." Very few sites are in stage three where it is characterized by original news content designed specifically for the Web as a new medium of communication." The authors say that stage three involves the ability to rethink the nature of an online community, and to experiment with new ways of storytelling. Lasica (1996) says that if newspapers evolve into what they could, and should, become, they will provide far more than catchy headlines, photos and shovelware. "A nextwave online publication will be an indispensable resource tool, a round-the-clock service that not only checks facts and prioritizes the news, but also provides a community encyclopedia of sorts -- a navigational device for exploring the news universe (p.29)"

From the research tradition of Uses and Gratifications, in the 1970s, a number of media scholars emphasized the need to distinguish between the motives for media consumption and the gratifications perceived to be obtained from this experience in gratification studies. In fact, the failure to measure differences between what audience members are seeking and what they have obtained from their media experience was one of the criticisms of the uses and gratifications approach. Katz et al. (1974) suggest, "in principle, a distinction may be drawn between a) expectation about content formed in advance of exposure and b) satisfactions subsequently secured from consumption of it. In practice, however, research workers have indiscriminately approached these phenomena from both ends" (p.27). Palmgreen et al. (1985) also observed that research through the mid 70s had neglected this empirical distinction, thereby ignoring an important theoretical link. Furthermore, McLeod et al. (1982) stressed that the conceptual and operational separation of GS and GO is important if the uses and gratifications approach is to be widely used in media evaluation research.

The Kentucky Educational Television study by Palmgreen and Rayburn (1979) compared GS and GO between viewers and non-viewers and demonstrated that exposure to public television is significant because it successfully discriminated the GS and GO between viewers and non-viewers of a mass medium. Following Palmgreen and Rayburn's 1979 study, a number of other investigations have been directed at examining the relationship between GS and GO, and discrepancies between the two. For example, Wenner (1982) compared more general gratifications sought from all kinds and types of television news programs with gratifications obtained from two specific types of television news programs: (1) the network evening news program most watched by the respondents, and; (2) the highly rated newsmagazine program *60 Minutes*. Wenner confirmed that a gratification sought is not necessarily a gratification obtained. Further, Wenner found that discrepancy models showed considerable promise in answering particular types of questions about the role of gratifications sought and obtained. Lee and Paik (1997) examined the motivations and satisfactions of watching TV news among Korean and American college students. The study found a few distinct dimensions of motivations and satisfactions between Korean students and American students. For American students, TV news was mainly a source of entertainment whereas, for Koreans, decisional utility was the first reason to watch TV news.

These GS and GO discrepancy findings clearly indicate that, as McLeod et al. (1982) have argued, GS and GO are "two quite different conceptual entities and deserve independent treatment in future uses and gratifications" research (p.59). Palmgreen et al. (1985) describe the usefulness of GS and GO discrepancy study as follows:

> Whether the motivations that lead an individual to media consumption are equivalent to the perceived outcomes of that consumption should have important ramifications for future media behavior, as well as for media evaluation (p. 27).

Because discrepancies between GS and GO may motivate changes in media consumption behaviors to reduce these differences, the measurement of discrepancies between GS and GO can be used as a media evaluation tool. The smaller the average absolute discrepancy between GS and GO, the more likely that media use will occur, while the larger the discrepancy, the less likely it will be that media use will occur. Thus, the magnitude of the difference, if any, between GS and GO should determine continued use of a particular medium or type of content.

Although online newspapers change the way people receive and process information, to date, no one has attempted to measure the motivations and satisfactions for this new medium. The primary purpose of this study is to examine GS and GO of online newspapers in order to uncover the relationship of those GS and GO. Potentially this study will produce useful results that: (1) provide a comprehensive understanding of motivation and satisfaction of audience readership of online newspapers; and, (2) guide the new medium to have better content and format. Comparisons between GS and GO and between frequent users and non-frequent users and between people who are at home country and people who are away from home country will produce relevant results. For this purpose, following hypotheses are proposed to test the GS and GO of online newspapers.

1. There will be a significant difference between the level of GS and GO.
2. There will be a significant difference between frequent users (weekly access 3 or more) and non-frequent users (weekly access 2 or less) in the levels of GS and GO.

As the number of online newspapers increases, audiences for online journalism are growing in the other regions including Asia and Europe, too (Massey, 1999). Since online newspapers provide instant access to foreign countries' local news as well, it is possible that the medium is more popular among foreigners and people who are away from their hometowns. To measure the difference between U.S. and international users of online news, the third hypothesis was added.

3. There will be a significant difference between U.S. readers and non-U.S. readers in the levels of GS and GO.

Method

The primary purpose of this study is to investigate individuals' GS and GO from online newspapers in order to uncover the relationships between GS and GO, between frequent users and non-frequent users, and between people who are at home country and people who are away from home country. In order to test the hypotheses proposed by this study, a questionnaire page linked to the investigator's Internet home page on the World Wide Web (http://bama.ua.edu/~cho001/) collected data from online newspaper users.

The data for the study were collected from 200 students (100 international and 100 U.S. students) from a major southeastern university to investigate GS and GO from online newspapers. Participants were recruited by distributing an e-mail requesting participation to the study.

Questionnaire Design

An essential difficulty is how to develop measures that successfully differentiate between GS and GO. The two become inseparable over time in some instances (Lometti et al., 1977). Likewise, it is not easy for respondents to understand the difference between GS and GO.

Palmgreen and Rayburn's principle is applied to this study by comparing those gratifications that individuals are seeking from online newspapers in general with those they obtain from using the online newspaper they read.

As noted earlier, many previous uses and gratifications studies have produced sophisticated typologies of gratifications. Park (1996) investigated motivations for using online newspaper and found three salient ones; entertainment (most prevalent), information seeking, and surveillance. This study employed the measures adapted from

Park's motivation study of online newspapers. Items were selected from seven factors isolated in the Park study. The wording of the items was modified to make them more applicable to this discrepancy study. Two gratification items not included in Park's study (i.e., "I read Internet newspapers to get the most updated news" and " because I can access them when I am out of town or even out of the country") were added.

The questionnaire is divided into three parts. In the first part, respondents were asked to answer questions concerning GS from online newspapers. The second part was used to evaluate GO from online newspapers. The third part of the questionnaire asked questions concerning online newspaper use and demographic information of the respondents.

Operational Definitions

Gratification Sought A gratification sought is the expectations a user forms prior to his/her exposure to a particular medium.

Gratification Obtained Gratification obtained is the gratification a user actually attains from the exposure to a particular medium. Immediately after gratifications sought have been measured, gratifications obtained were measured.

Surveillance	To learn about what is happening in my home country/town. To keep up with current issues and events
Remote Access	Because I can access them when I am out of the country. Because I can read my home country's news.
Interaction	To find something interesting to use in starting a conversation. To give me things to talk about with other people.
Informational Guidance	To get advice on how to solve my problems. To get advice on how to make decisions on various matters.
Immediacy	To get the most recently updated news. Because I can get the most recent news.

Diversion	To relax To escape from things
Entertainment	To have some fun To get some excitement
Interactivity	To talk editors to express my feelings and to get response. To communicate with other readers.
Control	Because it is easy to find various topics I want Because I can reorganize/reformat online newspapers based on my own interests.

Findings and Analysis

The survey was posted from November 4 to November 20 until the first 200 (100 international and 100 U.S. students) complete and valid questionnaires were gathered. Incomplete responses with fewer than 90% of answers were also excluded from analysis. The survey results provided demographic information, information about users' expectations for using online newspapers, and users' ratings of the contents they read, as well as the usage patterns.

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Using frequency distributions for the responses, the researcher generated a demographic profile of the sample and looked for correlation between demographic variables and online newspaper usage patterns. Analysis of demographic characteristics of the sample is presented in Table 1. Ninety-five (47.5%) of the respondents were males, while one hundred five females (52.5%) participated the survey. Fifty one percent of the respondents were between 20 and 30 years of age, and comprised the largest age group. With regard to student level, 104 respondents (52%) were graduate students, while 96 (48%) were undergraduate students.

The distribution of annual family income of the sample is also presented in Table 1. Forty eight percent of respondents to the survey had an annual income of $25,000 or less, while twenty seven percent of the sample earns more than 50,000 annually.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	95	47.5
Female	105	52.5
Age		
Under 20	39	19.5
21 to 30	103	51.5
31 over	58	29
Student Level		
Undergraduate	96	48
Graduate	104	52
Annual Family Income		
Less Than 25,000	96	48
25,000 – 50,000	50	25
50,000 or More	54	27

Online Newspaper Usage Pattern

The online newspaper usage pattern was analyzed using simple frequency distributions and a correlation matrix. In order to determine people's online newspapers usage pattern, ten questions were asked: (1) computer ownership; (2) weekly access to online newspaper; (3) weekly access to printed newspaper; (4) e-mail to editors; (5) database search; (6) number of pages at a sitting; (7) audio/video feature use; (8) place of use; (9), and; (10) experience level of online newspaper. Online newspaper use patterns are presented in Table 2.

Since the survey was conducted using the Internet, people who have access to a computer were more likely to participate the study: 72.5% of the sample had their own computer at home or office. In response to the question regarding weekly use, most respondents (58.5%) answered that they use online newspapers one or two days a week.

It is clear that many of them spend a short time period using online newspapers each day because 58.5% of the sample answered that their average number of pages of online newspaper at a sitting was 6 pages or less.

Online newspapers allow for some type of reader interaction with the newspaper through e-mail. Many online newspapers receive voluminous e-mail that is monitored by editors and sometimes incorporated into the newspaper's content. However, regarding the weekly number of e-mail message to editors, this study's sample was relatively inactive. Only 12.0% (n = 24) reported that they had sent an e-mail to the publisher or editor of the online newspaper they read.

News archives are useful because they presumably come from a reliable source, unlike much of the information in the Internet, and provide news that has value for the readers. In this study, however, only 17.0% (n = 34) of the respondents answered that they search previous days' news once or twice a week.

Online newspapers have a multimedia format that includes text, animation, sound, graphics and video components. Results of this study indicate the audio and video capabilities unique to online newspapers have not yet gained widespread popularity. In response to the question "How often do you use the audio or video features of the online newspaper each week?," the majority of the sample (65.0%) answered "never."

Table 2. Usage Patterns of Online Newspapers

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Computer Ownership		
Yes	145	72.5
No	55	27.5
How often do you read an online paper each week?		
1 or 2 days	117	58.5
3 or 4 days	33	16.5
5 days or more	50	25.0
How often do you read a papernews each week?		
1 or 2 days	134	67.0

3 or 4 days	26	13.0
5 days or more	40	20.0
Have you ever sent an e-mail to the publisher/editor?		
Never	176	88.0
Once or twice	23	11.5
3 or More	1	0.5
Regularly	0	0
How Often do you search previous days' news?		
Never	69	34.5
Less Than once a week	95	47.5
1 or 2 a week	34	17.0
3 or More	2	1.0
How many pages do you read at a sitting (online)?		
Fewer than 6	117	58.5
6 to 10	66	33.0
11 to 15	12	6.0
More than 16	5	2.5
Have you ever used the audio/video features?		
Never	130	65.0
Less Than once a week	40	20.0
1 or 2 a week	21	10.5
3 or More	8	4.0
Regularly	1	0.5
Where do you usually read online papers?		
Home	95	47.5
School	77	38.5
Work	24	12.0
Other	4	2.0
How long have you been using online papers?		
A year or less	112	56.0
1 to 2 years	52	26.0
2 years or More	36	18.0

Approximately one third (26%) of respondents have been using online newspapers between 1 and 2 years. Those who have been using online newspapers more than 2 years represent 18.0% of the sample, while those who have used e-newspapers for less than a year consisted of 56.0% of the sample. The largest percentage (47.5%) of users access online newspapers from their home.

To identify the most frequently read online newspaper, survey takers were asked "What is the name of the online newspaper you read most?" Among U.S. students, *USA*

Today (22) and the *New York Times* (21) were the two most popular Web newspapers. Many other names were mentioned, including The *Wall Street Journal*, The *Washington Post*, *The Birmingham News*, and so on. As expected, international students were accessing their home countries' online newspaper sites such as *Hindustan Times* (India), *Helsingborgs Dagblad* (Sweden), *Zaobao* (Singapore), *Bangkokpost* (Thailand), *Le parisien* (France), *Daily Chosun* (Korea), *Elpais* (Colombia), *El Nacional*(Venezuela), *Clarin* (Argentina), *People's daily* (China), and such. Interestingly, the *New York Times* was the favorite online newspaper to 6 international participants, whereas 3 answered *USA Today*.

To the question about the problems/inconvenient things about using online newspapers, connection speed, browsing difficulty due to small screens and too many colorful advertisements, and difficulty to survey the whole articles at a time were reported by most of the survey takers. For many students who share a phone line with their roommates, even staying online for a while was a difficult thing to do.

Demographic Characteristics and Online Newspaper Usage Pattern.

Pearson correlation coefficients were established for the demographic variables in conjunction with online newspaper use patterns. These correlations are listed in Table 3. Almost in every pattern, international students revealed significantly high level of usage. This is also true in the relation between U.S. students who are away from hometown and who are at their hometown. According to the analysis, people who are away home access to online newspapers more than people who are at their hometown. Student level was positively correlated with weekly access and experience level of online newspaper experience.

Table 3. Correlation of Demographic Variables with Online paper Use Patterns

	student level	income	home-town	experience level
weekly access	.422**	-.231**	.188*	.416
e-mail to editors	.087	-.065	-.089	.197
database search	.029	.110	-.040	.206
audio/video feature use	.208**	-.024	.069	.084
# of pages at a sitting	.214**	-.165**	.178*	.413
own computer?	.036	-.099	-.060	-.045
experience level	.435**	-.223**	.175*	--

*: Significant at the 0.05 level, **: Significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed)

Male users are more active in utilizing multimedia function of online newspapers such as e-mail to editors and database search as well as weekly access and experience level. Interestingly, people with lower family income showed higher level of access and experience of online newspapers than people with higher family income. This is probably because, even though international students' income level is very low, they utilize the medium very actively than U.S. students with higher family income.

Table 3 also includes relations between level of online experience and use patterns that demonstrate experienced users' active utilization of multimedia features and interactive function of online newspaper. Every usage pattern variable correlates positively with level of experience. This suggests that the longer people have been using e-newspapers, the more often they use the medium, send e-mail, search databases, and try to use audio/video features. Further, long-time readers of online newspapers are likely to stay online for longer periods of time.

Hypotheses Test

Three hypotheses were set up to investigate differences between GS and GO, between the frequent user and the non-frequent user group, and between away-home users (international students) and at-home users (U.S. students) in terms of the level of agreement with the statements in the research questionnaire. To test the hypotheses, one paired sample T-test and two independent sample T-tests were employed.

The first hypothesis suggested that there would be a difference between the levels of GS and GO. To see if there is a significant difference between GS and GO, a paired-samples t-test was employed because the same individual answered the both questions regarding GS and GO. Table 4 details the different level of agreement between GS and GO. The survey results show that, at the 95% confidence level, there are statistically significant differences between GS and GO in 4 of 9 categories.

Table 4. Paired Samples T-test of 9 GS & GO Themes

	GS	GO	Difference	T-value
Immediacy	3.18	3.30	-0.12	-3.31**
Surveillance	3.07	3.13	-0.05	-1.36
Entertainment	2.05	2.03	0.02	0.48
Interactivity	1.35	1.64	-0.29	-6.07**
Interaction	1.86	2.27	-0.41	-8.47**
info guide	1.65	1.67	-0.02	-0.54
Remote access	2.92	2.83	0.09	1.44
Diversion	1.91	1.88	0.03	0.71
Control	2.36	2.47	-0.11	-2.31*

*: Significant at the 0.05 level, **: Significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed)

Survey takers appeared to be attaining more than they wanted from online newspapers with regard to immediacy, interactivity, interaction and control gratifications: for these four, GO levels were significantly higher than GS levels. These results indicate that online newspapers may have more appeal as an interactive news medium than expected. On the other hand, though not significant statistically, the levels of GS were higher than GO in entertainment and diversion, which implies that online newspaper may not be very popular as an entertainment medium. It is possible that reading online newspapers is perceived as too demanding to adequately provide these rather "passive" gratifications.

The second hypothesis stated that there would be a significant difference between the frequent user group (weekly access 3 or more) and non-frequent user group (Weekly access 2 or less) in the level of GS and GO. In order to compare the degree of GS and GO between the frequent and non-frequent user groups, an independent-samples t-test was used.

As reported in Table 5, this hypothesis was partially supported. The frequent and non-frequent user group differences are statistically significant in 10 of 18 comparisons. Clearly, the frequent user group indicated higher levels of expectation in almost all GS items, while the non-frequent user group was less motivated in those categories. Among those categories, the gap between the two groups was the largest for the remote access (t value = -6.01, p<.000). In other words, frequent users are more likely to use online newspapers for remote access than non-frequent users. Since, unlike printed newspapers, online newspapers can be read anywhere in the world. It is possible that online newspapers have started to serve this important gratification for the reader as a main source of hometown or home country news when they are away. Indeed, having considered the fact that most of international participants of the survey were reading online newspapers of their home country, this new medium was viewed positively by the sample as a rapid access vehicle to current information about their home countries.

First of all, it is clear that North Korea has realized the potentiality of the Internet and started to utilize this new medium.[xxxiii] Even though there is no web site physically located in North Korea probably because of security concerns and its poor telecommunication, the government opened its official web site in early 1997 and added another in 1999 respectively in Japan and Hong Kong. Though not official, about 15 pro-North Korean sites also exist located all over the world actively supporting and distributing *Juche Idea* and other pro-North Korea opinions. The contents of North Korean official sites are heavily focused on promoting the government's political propaganda such as the writings and activities of Kim Jong Il and *Juche* ideology in officious style with little space for the reality of its people. Another important character of North Korean sites is the orientation toward foreign investment. Due to the worst economic crisis in North Korea's history, the closed country has been trying to solicit foreign capitals and this investment-related information composes another important trait of their official web sites. In a nutshell, to North Korea, the Internet is still just another vehicle to advocate and support the Communist regime's propaganda and to solicit foreign investments.

Recently, North Korea has built an fiber optic network between Pyongyang, Hamheung, and Nampo and also finished an Internet connection experiment with Australia successfully with its own computer network and web browser (Hankyerae News, March 15, 1999). It is quite possible that North Korea will increase the level of Internet operation to maintain and increase it power as a nation-state soon. However, with the ability to use the Internet monopolized by the government, together with other communication means, this new communication technology will at least for some time, only help to strengthen the power of the North Korean government rather than providing a centrifugal force to the individuals to fight the tyranny.

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[i] Lukes (1974) proposes a typology of three forms of power: *Instrumental* (power over the body), *Structural* (power over behavior, rules and regulations), and *Consensual* or *symbolic* (power over thought). Another form of power - *transformational* power - is emerging with today's explosively increasing information processing and flows, the power over the practices by which the elements of potential power were transformed into actual power. Braman (1995) asserts that control over those practices, especially through the net, has become the dominant form of power altogether. According to her, information processing and flows are increasingly the most significant form of transformational power globally.

[ii] In Myanmar, possession of a computer with networking capability is an offense that can lead to a custodial sentence of 7 to 15 years.

[iii] Braman's 1995 article summarized the study of *State* and *Nation* respectively.

[iv] Beniger (1986) locates recent diffusion of new technology as an another installment in the continuing development of the Control Revolution. A series of technological innovations in 19th century Industrial Revolution increased the need for control (the Crisis of Control), and again this crisis created the need for further innovation in information processing and communication technologies (Control Revolution). Microprocessing and computer technology is not a new force but merely the most recent installment in the continuing development of the Control Revolution.

[v] According to Held, sovereignty is, stemming from Hobbs and Rousseau, an illimitable and indivisible form of political power.

[vi] Mexicans were generally unaware of the government's building and use of the microwave network in the 1950s.

[vii] This term "vulnerability of the state" was first used in a report to the Swedish government on the computerization of society, the *Tengelin Report* (1981), and since became popular (Braman, 1995).

[viii] Regarding this discontinuities, Held (1990, 237) points out that while national political outcomes will be heavily influenced by global processes in some countries, in others regional or national forces might will remain supreme.

[ix] National Intelligent Service (S. Korea). North Korea Industry: Computer industry [Posted on the WWW]. Retrieved February 21, 1999 from the WWW: http://www.nis.go.kr:7000/democratic/index.html

[x] Mostly these organizations are religion, food aid, or human rights-related sites.

[xi] www.kcna.co.jp

[xii] The only article on the issue is *The North Korea in the Cyberspace* by Leonid A. Petrov and was posted in his personal web page in September 23, 1999 (retrieved in December 30 from http://fortunecity.com/meltingpot/champion/65/dprkint.htm).

[xiii] North Korea-centered site refers to a web site in which North Korea and information about the country and its people are the main content.

[xiv] Pro-North Korean site refers to a web site in which the content promotes North Korea's *Juche* ideology and shares its political opinions.

[xv] In fact, the source of the number of 20 is Leonid A. Petrov, the writer of *North Korea in the Cyberspace*. However, Petrov himself agreed with the fact that it is very difficult to distinguish between the pro-North Korean site and the North Korea-centered site. He also agreed that the list in table 1 include "99% of all that is currently available on the Internet. (personal letter to the writer)"

[xvi] South Korean Government is for security purpose keeping an eye on pro-North Korean sites. According to the South Korean police, there are about 10 pro-North Korean Internet sites. 9 are based in Japan and 1 in the U.S. (*Hankyerae News*, 22 October 1999)

[xvii] Kim, K. is a retired mathematician at the Brockport University.

[xviii] He recalled starting to carry KCNA news through a German University radio station web site in 1995 as a part of his software development company site. He later began to archive things on North Korea in March 1996 (personal letter).

[xix] The first incident happened in June 1996. A Canadian student (David Burgess, Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan) opened a personal homepage carrying a portrait of Kim Ilsung and some eulogizing exclamations such as, "Long Live Great Leader Comrade Kim Jongil!" However, Burgess soon shut it down under pressure from the South Korean government (Fight-censorship-announce list, retrieved September 23 1999, 8:09 AM from http://www.eff.org/~declan/fc/).

[xx] Even though kimsoft.com existed as early as 1994, since the site serves news and information on both Koreas as well as his own company, it is hard to say kimsoft.com is the earliest North Korea centered site. However, it is noteworthy that, before KCNA's site appeared, the regular publication of official North Korean news on the Internet was undertaken only by Kimsoft.com from March 1996 to January 1997.

[xxi] In his e-mail message to the writer, Young S. Kim, the editor of Kimsoft.com, said, Mr. Sakai works for the Kumgang International of Mrs. Park, a Korean-American businesswoman. Mr. Sakai's web is actually located in America, virtual-hosted by an American ISP.

[xxii] This is the biggest number of all pro-North Korean sites.

[xxiii] Currently, the number of visitors to the site is about 138,000.

[xxiv] Chosun Infobank uses three different addresses which are http://www.dprkorea.com, http://www.korean-nationals.com, and http://www.korean.com.cn. The third address, http://www.korean.com.cn, is currently not working. Anyway, it is possible that Chosun Infobank has two locations.

[xxv] Kim, K., who has a pro-North Korean site - Anju, NK, also confirmed the fact that "there is no website physically located in NK. (Personal letter to the writer, February 23, 1999)"

[xxvi] After 45 years of economic embargo, U.S. allowed telecommunication companies to provide services to North Korea in 1995 and AT&T became the first Western company operating in DPRK (Petrov,1999)

[xxvii] U.N. also has an exclusive direct phone connection with North Kroea

[xxviii] Internet access for North Korean people is not possible for economic, security and technical reasons.

[xxix] It has links to the Choson Sinbo and the People's Korea, now.

[xxx] About the same time, the *Choson Sinbo* also added a Korean version of the site, too.

[xxxi] The search engine in the site is an illegal copy of Dulebak 3.0 from a South Korean software company (*Hankyerae News*, 15 December 1999).

[xxxii] More detailed information was available only for its members who paid the fee ($2,000 a year). The writer could not go further because it would be a violation of law for South Korean including the writer.

[xxxiii] Chosun Infobank uses three different addresses which are http://www.dprkorea.com, http://www.korean-nationals.com, and http://www.korean.com.cn. The third address, http://www.korean.com.cn, is currently not working. Anyway, it is possible that Chosun Infobank has two locations.

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A National Survey of Public Relations Internship Programs at Mass Communication Programs Accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC)

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ABSTRACT

(75 words)

A National Survey of Public Relations Internship Programs at Mass Communication Programs Accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC)

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To create a profile of public relations internship programs at U.S. ACEJMC-accredited programs, the researchers surveyed all 108 by mail, yielding a return rate of 63%. The operation of public relations internship programs at this study's sample offers models for successful internship administration while also presenting some areas in need of improvement (public relations internship administration, intern pay, intern duties, and evaluations). A parallel follow-up study of public relations interns and sponsors is recommended.

A National Survey of Public Relations Internship Programs at Mass Communication Programs Accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC)

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In the increasingly competitive job market of the last 10 years, many employers have sought employees with practical, hands-on experience, even for entry-level positions. Accordingly, colleges and universities have come to realize that adding internships to their curriculum gives their students an edge other job candidates may not have (Fulmer, 1993).

[**] Davis, a former public relations intern, was awarded her Master of Mass Communication degree in May 2000 by Arizona State University (Tempe), where Galician is associate professor in the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Telecommunication and — for nearly 10 years until December 1999 — also served as director of the Cronkite School public relations internship program.

Internship programs can offer students an added opportunity to sharpen their skills, refine their expectations, and plan their future goals more realistically. A successful internship program is based upon a well-organized, clearly defined, and carefully monitored procedure that focuses on the benefits to students, the sponsoring organizations, and the university. Establishing and maintaining a successful internship program is more than simply placing a student with an organization. It requires a strong commitment from everyone involved--the university internship administrator, the students, the sponsoring organization, the university department, and the university (Kamalipour, 1991).

Public relations practitioners regard the internship as among the most crucial parts of a public relations degree program, and even though educators and practitioners alike regard internships as an important element of a public relations degree program, there has been surprisingly little research about public relations internships and how they are evaluated (Gibson, 1996).

Statement of the Problem

The overall purpose of this national study was to create a profile of public relations internship programs at all 108 U.S. journalism and mass communication programs accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC), with the intention of filling a research gap in general and, more specifically, providing benchmarks for other accredited programs' public relations internship programs, which must operate under stated guidelines. The following research questions were addressed in this study:

Research Question 1: How do public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited mass communication programs operate?

Research Question 2: What do public relations internship administrators consider the most successful aspects of their programs?

Research Question 3: What do public relations internship administrators consider areas of concern in their programs?

Definitions

Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC). ACEJMC is the agency formally recognized by the Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA) and the U.S. Department of Education for accrediting programs for professional education in journalism and mass communications in institutions of higher learning. ACEJMC is a voluntary agency that strives to stimulate and encourage sound educational programs in these fields. The Council seeks to define and gain wide acceptance for standards of education for careers in journalism and mass communications (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/).

ACEJMC-accredited Program. Programs accredited by ACEJMC ensure continued improvement in the quality of instruction in journalism and mass communications through re-evaluation, including a thorough and useful self-study, at six-year intervals. ACEJMC lists 12 standards for accreditation. These standards address both public relations education in general and all internships in general; however, public relations internships are not specifically addressed (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/).

Public Relations. The Assembly (governing body) of the Public Relations Society of America adopted the following definition of public relations in 1988: "Public relations helps an organization and its publics adapt mutually to each other" (http://www.prsa.org/pressroom/aboutpr). PRSA's official website further notes that in this definition--which PRSA claims "has become most accepted and widely used"--"the essential functions of research, planning, communications dialogue and evaluation are implied." (http://www.prsa.org/pressroom/aboutpr)

Public Relations Internship. Field instruction wherein public relations theories and skills learned in the classroom are used in practical, hands-on applications in a real job setting.

Public Relations Internship Program Administrator. The person responsible for overseeing the academic administration of internships in the study area of public relations and all aspects relating to the internship program, including recruitment of students and organizations and evaluation of students participating in the program.

Sponsoring Organization. An organization that agrees to allow a student who has met certain criteria to work in its pubic relations area to learn the practical application of public relations.

Scope of the Study

Delimitations

This study focused on the operation of public relations internship programs at all 108 ACEJMC-accredited schools in the United States. Although this study surveyed the census, the findings are nevertheless delimited to those schools that responded.

In addition, the findings are delimited to the 4-page, 36-item survey mailed questionnaire questions and responses.

Limitations

Using mail surveys to collect data produces certain limitations inherent in this type of research. Since the researchers were not present as the surveys are completed there is a chance that questions may be misinterpreted, there is no control over who actually completes the survey, and there is no way to ensure that all of the questionnaires will be returned for analysis.

Since this study focused only on ACEJMC-accredited programs, the results cannot be generalized beyond those programs, although public relations internships are offered in many other programs. Further, only a self-selected sample of the census (63%) responded, so the findings are somewhat limited even within the studied population.

Assumptions

Certain assumptions were made in the execution of this study. Because the researchers relied only on the returned surveys for the analysis, it was assumed that the responses of the public relations internship were honest and accurate, as well as their own.

An underlying assumption is that public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited programs represent the highest quality and thus serve as the most appropriate models. At the least, these programs are assumed to operate under constraints to meet accreditation requirements; thus, these programs are presumed to operate within more narrow and more accountable parameters and thereby are most appropriate for this study, whose focus was--intentionally--programs with strict guidelines.

Significance

Internship programs are popular avenues for students to receive important hands-on work experience while in school. By comparing how different universities across the United States administer their ACEJMC-accredited prrograms' public relations internship programs, consistencies and differences can be discovered and a practical model can be developed that might help improve the internship experiences for students, employers, and on-campus program administrators. No similar national study could be found.

Review of Selected Related Literature

Public Relations Coursework in Higher Education

When the profession of public relations was still in its infancy in the earlier part of the 20th century, only a small number of colleges and universities offered any formal coursework in public relations. Most public relations practitioners were hired from the rank and file of reporters writing for newspapers and magazines who used their skills to be "in-house journalists" for corporations or publicists and promoters for clients (Kruckeberg et al., 1999).

Recognizing a lively and promising career market following World War II, colleges and universities began to offer formal public relations education. By the early 1950s, it is estimated that a dozen schools offered some type of public relations education. By 1969 the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) began to charter student chapters at colleges and universities. In the beginning, there were 14 schools participating in the Public Relations Student Society of America (PRSSA), and each agreed to offer at least two courses in public relations (Kruckeberg et al., 1999). As of April 2000, there were 216 active PRSSA chapters (K. Chin, PRSA, personal communication, April 17, 2000).

Public Relations Internships

Many different terms are used to describe the applied learning experiences, including field experience, practicum, internship, externship, service learning, and volunteerism (Chambliss, Rinde, & Miller, 1996). Often times these words are used with very little precision, but whichever term is used to describe experiential learning at universities across the country, more and more schools are requiring--or at the very least, suggesting--practical, hands-on experience for students before graduation. That experience, most frequently described as an internship, has far-reaching benefits for students, the business community, and the university.

Experiential Education

An internship, like other kinds of field instruction, is a form of experiential education (Sweitzer & King, 1999). In addition to knowledge and skill acquisition, the internship is also intended to promote self-understanding, self-discipline, and self-confidence. While the practice of experiential learning may not be understood throughout the entire college campus, it comes from both the theoretical and practical traditions. Experiential learning has roots dating back to the guild and apprenticeship systems of medieval times and through the Industrial Revolution. As the end of the 19th century approached, professional schools began to require direct and practical experiences as important parts of academic programs, including, but not limited to, medical schools and hospital internships, law schools, and normal schools. Practitioners and professors agree that successful entry into the public relations job market requires at least one field-related internship (Bourland-Davis, Graham, & Fulmer, 1997).

Importance of Public Relations Internships

Internships have been a crucial part of many public relations degree programs (Fulmer, 1993). Zeedick (1988) maintained that the best way to train students interested in public relations is by combining formal education with one or more required internships that complement classroom instruction. A study conducted by the University of Missouri School of Journalism Advertising Department found that surveyed employers regarded internships and professionally-related extracurricular activities as valuable learning experiences and that most employers required applicants to have a professional internship just to get an interview (Ganahl, 1994).

The availability of internships is one of five core curriculum recommendations in order for a college or university to host a chapter of the Public Relations Student Society of America (PRSSA) (Bovet, 1992). One of the 12 Standards for Accreditation set by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) is making internships available to students because "journalism and mass communication internships, practicums, and student publications can add a significant and realistic component to a student's education and innovative programs in this area of curriculum are encouraged" (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/).

"Public Relations Education for the 21st Century," a report commissioned in 1999 by the Commission on Public Relations Education, noted that supervised work experience in public relations is important in order for

> . . . students to have the opportunity to apply the skills and principles they learn in the professional arena. These practical experiences must be supervised by faculty and practitioners who cooperate to provide professional experience directed by learning objectives and assessed throughout to assure a quality practical educational experience. (Kruckeberg et al., 1999, p. 22)

The report also recommended that undergraduate public relations programs have a minimum of five required courses in the major and that coursework in public relations should compromise 25% to 40% of all earned credit hours, with part of those credit hours involving an internship. Recommended coursework for the master's level student should include an internship and/or comprehensive examinations.

Because many organizations have been forced to scale-back their workforce in recent years, public relations professionals increasingly look for applicants with hands-on experience when hiring recent college-graduates into entry-level positions, and internships are becoming more clearly recognized as the leading way for students to gain this experience (Schick, 1997).

Public Relations Internship Programs

The academic view of the student internship program has been actively debated, with issues ranging from whether the internship should receive academic credit and how much credit should be awarded, to whether interns should receive pay (Bourland-Davis et al., 1997). Other issues surrounding internships include criteria for becoming an intern and evaluating interns and potential internship sponsors, as well as the roles and relationships of faculty and site supervisors with each other and interns.

While internships may vary from school to school in regard to scope and requirements, all programs need to address similar issues, such as course credit, faculty and site supervision, and internship candidacy (Bourland-Davis et al., 1997). These common issues can be categorized into the six major areas examined by the present study's survey instrument: (a) basics or general information about internships, including educational institutions and professional sponsors, (b) eligibility requirements, (c) program administration, (d) internship program evaluation, (e) successful aspects of internship programs, and (f) areas of concern within internship programs.

(Area A) Basics/General Information

Program administration. Little research could be found concerning the duties and qualifications of academic administrators of public relations internship programs. However, Bourland-Davis et al. (1997) noted that successful management of an internship program on the academic side requires academic supervisors to balance numerous tasks--from site integrity to balancing relationships with practitioners to meeting the needs of students and the public relations internship program.

Credit and pay. Disagreement has been reported regarding two basics, academic credit and pay. Some schools maintain the experience needs no academic credit because it is a professional experience, while others disagree with that view and do award credit (Fulmer, 1993; Gibson, 1998).

Another issue is how much credit should be awarded (Gibson, 1998). Too much credit can prevent students from taking more specialty courses. ACEJMC standards are specific:

> Academic credit for internships should be awarded only for carefully monitored and supervised experience in fields related to journalism and mass communication, but should not exceed one semester course (or its equivalent) if the internship is away from the institution and, for the most part, supervised by media professionals rather than academics. (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/)

Less important than the issue of academic credit, pay is nevertheless a concern for everyone involved. Many site sponsors are asked to pay at least a minimal stipend to cover the cost of tuition for students who are receiving academic credit for the experience. Other universities require pay at the minimum wage level, especially if students are not receiving academic credit for their internship (Gibson, 1998). ACEJMC standards are not specific:

> Students employed as interns may be protected by the Fair Labor Standards Act and other federal, state, and local laws relating to employment. Students and faculty should be aware of the obligation of employers offering internships to satisfy the applicable requirements of these laws. (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/)

Other organizations believe giving students an opportunity to gain some hands-on experience and material for their portfolios is more than enough of a reward for internship work, a type of fulfillment of initiation rites before membership in a profession is conferred. Many interns, especially those who need the work experience and professional references, are often willing to make the monetary sacrifice ("Learning and Earning," 1996).

(Area B) Eligibility Requirements

Students. Though the internship is considered a learning experience, students are expected to have a basic understanding of the field of public relations, its key concepts, basic technological skills, and writing and editing skills (Bourland-Davis et al., 1997). Iyengar, Dye, and Gregory (1994) found that most public relations internship sponsors agree that the most important attribute in hiring an intern are oral communication skills, self-motivation, and writing skills. In addition, employers considered research skills to be equally important in the contributions made by interns to organizations. Of 21 skills perceived as important by public relations practitioners in survey by Schwartz, Yarbough, and Shakra (1992), writing skills were ranked as the most important by 98% of the respondents.

In a field where writing is the key component to getting most of the job completed, an inability to put words and thoughts onto paper in complete, coherent sentences can prevent a public relations intern from fulfilling a basic obligation to the sponsoring organization. Writing is represented in several public relations job categories, including press releases, features, broadcast script writing, PSA writing, letters, memoranda, general writing (cutlines, phone scripts, etc.), and writing for specialized publications (Bourland-Davis et al., 1997).

Alternatively, some academicians and professionals have argued that students need not complete all public relations related coursework before beginning an internship as they may have a better understanding of the material after completing the internship (Fulmer, 1993).

Organizational sponsors. Given the range of activities that are often labeled "public relations" in a professional setting, minimal expectations are necessary to ensure that the internship site builds upon the foundation of public relations knowledge set forth in the classroom (Bourland-Davis et al., 1997).

However, Gibson (1998) explained that schools seem to be split on how students should go about finding an organizational sponsor for their internship. Some schools offer assistance to students by compiling a job bank of sorts for students. These job banks contain names of organizations that regularly use public relations interns. Once the job bank is consulted, students must submit a resume to the agency and set up an interview. Other schools, believing that students should use this opportunity to see how the job process works from beginning to end, require students to search out their own internship.

Indeed, site selection for an internship can be the most challenging part of the internship programs. Students can benefit directly from internship planning in at least three ways: development of personal responsibility, skills development, and accumulation of experience.

While many universities encourage students to find their own internships, this practice may actually limit the amount of control an academic unit has over the internship program and quality of the internship (Fulmer, 1993). Chambliss et al. (1996) suggested that educators in higher education might better meet the needs of students by listening to students' ideas about what they think will help them achieve their long-term educational objectives; that is, if internship programs are structured with enough flexibility, professors can be open to individualized ways to meet the needs of particular students. Chambliss et al. (1996) also argued that allowing some students to find their own internships enables them to get what they want while, at the same time, expanding options for other students.

In addition to requiring students to plan their own internship, many schools also require students to write contracts outlining their commitment to complete the internship and what they expect to accomplish from the experience (Gibson, 1998). A job description for the intern from the sponsoring organization is an easy way to decide if the site is suitable for a public relations internship. The sponsor of the intern should have a clear idea of what public relations is and what type of skills are needed, as well as what type of work the intern will be expected to do in order to gain useful experience from the internship (Zeedick, 1988).

Placement of interns. In fact, the process of interviewing for internship positions also serves to help weed out students who do not have the skills necessary to serve an internship (Gibson, 1998). Well-chosen interns can bring many new cultural dimensions to a sponsoring organization. Since 1994, the internship program at Creamer Dickson Basford Agency (CDB) in New York City has been transformed into an international program that trains future public relations professionals from around the world (Farinelli & Mann, 1994). One of the main reasons CDB cited for this international program is to help "train the next generation of public relations professionals" (p. 36).

(Area C) Program Administration

An extensive review failed to uncover published research concerning administration of public relations internship program.

(Area D) Internship Program Evaluation

Since the profession of public relations does not require pre-professionals to complete formal internship training, universities need to examine whether or not existing public relations internship programs provide quality internships--that is, that they are supervised by an on-site professional, monitored and inspected by the schools, and contribute overall to the students' knowledge of the field (Zeedick, 1988).

The same methods used to decide a grade for internships can be used to help evaluate the internship program as a whole. Senior exit exams, alumni surveys, site-supervisor surveys, and student portfolio reviews can all be used to examine how successful an internship program is in allowing students to use classroom skills in a real world setting, as well as to determine if students are learning all the necessary skills in the classroom before embarking on an internship (Graham, Bourland-Davis, & Fulmer, 1997).

Sweitzer and King (1999) recommended that interns keep a journal during their internship experience to record events, thoughts, and feelings each day that seem significant. They also noted that keeping a journal not only gives interns an opportunity to see how they grow and change during the course of the internship but also forces them to reflect on a regular basis about the work they are doing. Sweitzer and King recommended that interns write about some of the following aspects of internships:

- What was the best thing that happened today at your site?
- What thing did you like least today about your site?
- What compliments did you receive today and how did they make you feel?
- What criticism (if any) did you receive and how did you react?
- Has this experience made you think about possible careers in this field?
- What kind of new skills have you learned since beginning work at this site?
- If you were in charge of the site, what changes would you make? (p. 7).

ACEJMC guidelines for accreditation state that students must be interviewed about the quality of the work experience and that credit for work experience must be visible on official student transcripts (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/).

Graham et al. (1997) asserted that internship programs and subsequent feedback from interns are an excellent way to monitor the success of an entire communications program. As

Gibson (1998) so eloquently argued: "Public relations internship systems need to be responsive to legitimate student needs. After all, the system serves the students, not the other way around . . ." (p. 74).

(Area E) Successful Aspects of Public Relations Internship Programs

A survey of 813 employers who used communication interns from the University of California, Los Angeles showed that the participating organizations valued interns (79.9%) and learned something from interns they sponsored (29.9%) (Iyengar et al., 1994). The same survey found that a large percentage of those surveyed had a desire for more interns and said that the ones they have used are a "significant business resource, particularly as a recruiting tool" (p. 10). When given the opportunity, talented interns can often surprise their on-site supervisors with a level of professionalism and competence that can rival that of entry-level employees (Farinelli & Mann, 1994). Interns can bring creativity, new life, and energy to many organizations, especially to those working on a limited budget. When interns are used to their full potential, they can receive the maximum benefit from the internship experience and can often postpone the need for organizations to hire full-time, entry-level employees (Farinelli & Mann, 1994; Yane, 1993). According to Fulmer (1993), successful internships provide students an opportunity to:

- Extend classroom principles into professional settings;
- Summarize the degree program;
- Provide students with experiential learning;
- Enhance the student's resume and portfolio;
- Provide students opportunities to network with professionals;
- Enhance understanding of current practitioner concepts;
- Provide theoretical insights to the practitioner via the student's classroom experiences; and
- Enhance the reputation of the institution providing the intern. (p. 67)

Chambliss et al. (1996) expanded this list of positive aspects of internships by including the following:

- Enhancement of student goals of career development;
- Promotion of favorable public relations for the college;
- Provision of valuable services to alumni and the community; and
- Research opportunities for students. (p. i)

As these lists imply, a successful public relations internship program can benefit everyone involved.

(Area F) Areas of Concern

Chambliss et al. (1996) also looked at the other side of the internship experience by providing the following list of negative issues surrounding internships:

- Exposure to litigation;
- Increased workload for staff training interns;
- Work experience may dilute the educational program; and
- Internships may fuel student worship of practical experience and pre-professionalism. (p. i)

Gibson (1998) also stressed how important it is for schools, students, and on-site sponsors' rights and responsibilities to be agreed upon in advance of the internship in order to protect the rights of all parties and to ensure that no employment laws are broken. Zeedick (1988) warned that internships could be more structured and more adequately supervised as well as offer a variety of experiences. Fulmer (1993) specified that public relations interns are often given very few valid public relations tasks and are used to provide clerical support. Similarly, Iyengar et al. (1994) asserted that many students bring valuable research skills with them that are not always utilized during the course of the internship. Brightman (1989) urged sponsoring organizations to remember that public relations interns are there to learn about public relations;

thus, they need to be able to see projects as they progress from beginning to end, and they need to be involved in staff meetings.

Methodology

Data Collection Procedures

Population

The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) is the agency responsible for the evaluation of professional journalism and mass communication programs in colleges and universities in the United States and Chile (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/). ACEJMC lists 12 standards for accreditation. These address both public relations education in general and all internships in general; however, public relations internships are not specifically addressed. (Not all programs with public relations units are in accredited journalism and mass communication programs.) Nevertheless, because of their overall accreditation standards, ACEJMC-accredited programs (as a whole) represent the highest quality and most complete programs that incorporate public relations education housed in journalism/mass commuication programs.

An underlying assumption of the present study, whose focus was--intentionally--programs with strict guidelines, is that public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited programs, operating within more narrow and more accountable parameters, serve as the most appropriate models.

Thus, the researchers sought a national census of U.S. journalism and mass communication programs accredited by ACEJMC in order to study their public relations internship programs nationwide and to create a profile.

Names and addresses of all accredited programs were taken from the official ACEJMC website (http://www.cc.ukans.edu/~acejmc/), which lists each of the accredited schools and their mailing addresses, as well as phone numbers and in most instances, e-mail addresses. The site lists 109 accredited programs; however, one program is not in the United States and was not included in the survey. Thus, 108 universities and colleges in 40 states and the District of Columbia were included in the survey. (For a listing of all 108 U.S. programs, see pp. 42-43.)

Questionnaire

A four-page, 36-item, self-administered mail questionnaire was created for this study (Appendix A) and mailed with a cover letter (Appendix B) to the "Public Relations Internship Administrator" at each of the 108 programs. The questionnaire covered the following six area: (a) general information, (b) (intern) eligibility requirements, (c) program administration, and (d) internship program evaluation, (e) positive aspects (successes), and (f) areas of concern. The majority of the items were closed-ended. The cover letter and questionnaire also asked administrators to provide any collateral materials used, including application forms, position descriptions, syllabi, evaluation forms, etc.

Although the researchers requested permission to quote by name (positive aspects), respondents were also provided the option of confidentiality if requested, which the researchers hoped would reassure respondents who might find some of the questions potentially sensitive. (The questionnaire and accompanying cover letter were approved by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board of Arizona State University.)

Since respondents were asked to send any collateral materials used for the internship program in addition to their completed questionnaire, return postage could not be precisely estimated; thus, only a self-addressed return mailing label was provided. Respondents were offered a copy of the study's results.

The first mailing was sent to the census of 108 programs on February 16, 2000. A total of 49, or 72% of the total 68 responses, were returned from this mailing. A second mailing was sent to 71 of the non-responding programs (some of the questionnaires and responses crossed in the mail) on March 7, 2000. The remaining 19 surveys (28%) were received from the follow-up mailing.

Survey Response Rate

A total of 179 surveys were sent in two mailings. Of the census, 68 questionnaires were returned, yielding a response rate of 63%. Of these 68, 7 were from programs that do not offer public relations coursework; thus, the analyzed sample included 61 schools (56%). (The included schools are underscored in the listing of the 108 U.S. accredited programs, pp. 42-43.) Many of the respondents also provided the requested collateral material, including internship applications, booklets on how to recruit and interview for internships, and letters explaining what type of experience students should expect to receive from their internship.

Data Analysis

Quantitative items were coded and then analyzed using the computer spreadsheet program Excel. Frequencies, ranges, and percentages were calculated and reported. Qualitative (open-ended) responses were examined to determine and report similarities and differences, with key verbatims included. The collateral materials were also studied and described. Finally, using both quantitative and qualitative "most typical" responses, a profile of ACEJMC-accredited programs' public relations internship program operations--the primary and ultimate goal of this research--was drawn.

Results

Following a demographic profile of the programs and respondents in this study's qualified sample of 56% of all 108 ACEJMC-accredited programs' public relations internship programs in this national survey (i.e., 61 programs), the results are reported by research question (1-3), along with a description of the collateral materials provided by respondents. From these data, the profile is drawn and presented.

Sample Demographics

Programs

Public relations is offered at the bachelor's degree level at all of the 61 programs (100%) in the sample, at the master's degree level at 27 (44%), and at the doctoral degree level at 5 (8%). Public relations is offered as a sequence at 33 (54%) of the schools and a major at 22 (36%) of the schools, whereas courses (but not a sequence or major) in public relations are offered at 7 (11%) schools. (Two [3%] of the schools offer public relations as both a sequence and a major; thus, the percentages total 103%.)

Most frequently, public relations is taught in the same unit with print news/editorial (57, or 93%); broadcast news (48, or 79%); advertising (43, or 70%); broadcast production (34, or 56%); photojournalism (30, or 49%); new media/internet technology (23, or 38%); broadcast management (15, or 25%); and other areas (17, or 28%). (Percentages total more than 100 because respondents could indicate multiple related disciplines.)

Other disciplines housed in the same unit with public relations are as follows: 2 with magazine writing; 2 with business; 2 with film and video; 1 with telecommunication arts; 1 with mass communications; 1 with general/professional writing; 1 with documentary filmmaking; 1 with visual communication; 1 with political communication; 1 with organizational communication; 1 with agricultural journalism; 1 with journalism education; 1 with media studies; 1 with corporate journalism; 1 with journalism graphics; 1 with communication studies; and 1 with secondary education.

Respondents

Of the 61 respondents, 50 (82%) are faculty members and 7 (11%) are staff members (for 3 of whom the administration of the public relations internship program is their primary duty). Of the remaining 4 respondents, 2 are department chairpersons, 1 is a director of career development, and 1 is the coordinator of undergraduate advising. Fourteen respondents (23%) said they are responsible only for public relations internships, while 47 (77%) said they are responsible for other internship programs as well. Administration of internships is a primary duty for only 11 (18%) of the respondents, a secondary duty for 20 (33%), and a minor duty for 30 (49%).

Research Question 1:

How do public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited mass communication programs operate?

(Area A) Basics/General Information

Intern profile. Nationally, an average of 14 students at each institution participate in internships. The number of students participating in an internship ranges widely from school to school, depending on the number of students enrolled. Some respondents reported that only 1 or 2 students participate each semester in an internship, while other schools reported up to as many as 50 students each semester.

All 61 programs offer internship programs at the bachelor's degree level, 27 (44%) offer them at the master's degree level, and 1 offers a public relations internship at the doctoral degree level. Internships are offered by all of the schools during the fall, spring, and summer semesters. Five (8%) schools offer shorter internships during Spring Break and Christmas Break. Twenty-one (34%) of the programs require an internship as part of the coursework, while 42 (69%) offer an internship as an elective. (Two schools require public relations internships at the undergraduate level but offer them as electives at the graduate level; thus, the percentages total more than 100.)

Credit. All but 1 of the 61 schools offer internships for course credit. Credit ranges from 1 credit hour to 12 for the semester, with an average of 3. One school offers one hour of credit for every 150 hours worked, allowing students to work at more than one internship. Thirty-eight (62%) of the schools allow students to receive credit for only one internship; 7 (11%) schools allow students to receive credit for two internships; and 16 (26%) allow students to receive credit for more than two internships.

Grades. Thirty-one schools (51%) offer internships on a pass/fail basis, 29 (48%) offer a letter grade, and 1 school offers no grade. Thirty-eight (62%) respondents said the grade is determined by the employer and the internship administrator; 15 (25%) said the grade is determined solely by the public relations internship administrator, and 1 school said the grade is determined solely by the internship site supervisor. Eight schools (13%) checked "other" on the survey and provided various specific responses about what students are required to do in order to receive their final grade, including writing a final report about their internship experience; submitting a weekly paper on their job duties; submitting a written assessment along with a portfolio of work; and/or taking a course the semester following the internship, which involves completing a case study of the organization and the work the student did during the internship.

Pay. Only 8 schools (13%) reported that students are always paid for internships. Fifty-two (85%) respondents reported that their interns are sometimes paid a wage or stipend for internships; only one school reported that students are never paid. The average pay for public relations interns is $5.49 per hour, and pay ranges from $4 per hour to $15 per hour. Fifty–six (92%) allow the sponsoring organization to determine how much to pay interns. Three schools (5%) require a minimum stipend ranging from $350 - $500 to be paid, 1 university requires at least the minimum hourly wage, and 1 asks organizations to pay market price for an entry-level administrative position.

(Area B) Eligibility Requirements

Students. Course pre-requisites are required at 53 (87%) programs before students are allowed to enroll in an internship; the remaining 8 (13%) said there are no pre-requisites. Only 75% (46) of the programs require a minimum overall grade point average (GPA). Of those who do, the average minimum GPA is 2.32, just slightly above a "C" average; the range was 2.0 to 3.0. Seventy-nine percent (48) require a minimum GPA in the major. The average minimum GPA required in the major is 2.35, with a range of 2.0 to 3.0. Fourteen schools (23%) did not have a minimum GPA requirement--overall or major--for students wishing to enroll in an internship. The majority of the schools (31, or 51%) require that interns have at least junior class standing to enroll in an internship. Eleven (18%) schools require senior status; 7 (11%) require sophomore status; and 5 (8%) require freshman status. (Seven respondents listed "Other.")

Organizational sponsors. An open-ended question asked what criteria a potential internship organizational sponsor must meet before being accepted into the internship program. Only 7 of the respondents (11%) do not have any criteria for an organization to meet in order to sponsor an intern. Thirty-one of the schools (51%) require that there be real, quality public relations work in a sufficient amount for the intern during the internship. Twenty-four schools (39%) require the sponsoring organization to have a qualified professional with a background in public relations to supervise the student.

Three (5%) schools require the organization be able to provide the student with an educational experience; 2 (3%) require in writing that the sponsoring organization be able to provide work that students could place in their portfolios; and 2 (3%) respondents require that the sponsoring organization have a legitimate public relations department and the student be supervised by an administrator who has a background in the area of public relations. One school required that a faculty member know the organization, whether it is through a professional contact or a site visit.

Other criteria that schools mentioned included that the intern's organizational supervisor and school must agree on the goals of the internship and that the supervisor must provide the school with a full description of duties and a report on the intern.

Organizational settings. Types of organizations sponsoring internships include advertising and public relations agencies (36%), corporations/for-profit organizations (29%), non-profit organizations (29%). The remaining 6% of internships are with park districts, city governments, public schools, college campuses, and political campaigns.

Nationwide, 64% of internships are served locally; 15% are statewide; 12% are regional; 9% are national; and less than 1% are international.

Recruitment of sponsors. Forty-four of the respondents (72%) reported that students and public relations administrators share recruitment of internships. At 9 (15%) of the schools, students are responsible for finding their own internships, while at 8 (13%) schools the public relations internship administrator is responsible for recruiting organizational sponsors.

Placement of interns. Regarding placement interviews, 58 respondents (95%) said students go to the place of employment to meet with the on-site supervisor, and only 7 (11%) said employers come to campus at an appointed time to interview students. Six respondents (10%) said students go to the job site to meet with the employer or the employer may come to the university to interview students, and some of the respondents explained that some students meet twice with interviewers--once on campus and once at the work-site.

The actual placement or assignment decision is made in various ways. Twenty-two respondents (36%) said the decision is made by the sponsoring organization, and at 12 (20%) of the schools the decision is made by both the sponsoring organization and the public relations internship administrator. Eight (13%) said the decision is made by the intern, and 7 (11%) said the decision is made by the public relations internship administrator; another 7 (11%) reported that the sponsoring organization, the public relations internship administrator, and the student make the decision together. The student and the public relations internship administrator at one university make the decision. (Four left the question unanswered.)

(Area C) Program Administration

As reported above ("Sample Demographics--Respondents"), of the 61 respondents, 50 (82%) are faculty members and 7 (11%) are staff members (for 3 of whom the administration of the public relations internship program is their primary duty). Of the remaining 4 respondents, 2 are department chairpersons, 1 is a director of career development, and 1 is the coordinator of undergraduate advising. Fourteen respondents (23%) said they are responsible only for public relations internships, while 47 (77%) said they are responsible for other internship programs as well. Administration of internships is a primary duty for only 11 (18%) of the respondents, a secondary duty for 20 (33%), and a minor duty for 30 (49%).

(Area D) Internship Program Evaluation

During internships. Fifty-three (87%) of the respondents said the on-site supervisor evaluates the intern at least once during the internship; the range is 1-15. At 2 schools the organizational supervisor has a weekly evaluation meeting with the intern. Eight of the schools (13%) do not get an evaluation of the intern from the on-site supervisor.

Only 24 (39%) of the public relations internship administrators meet with the interns' on-site supervisor to discuss the interns' evaluation at least once during the internship. The range is from 1 to 3 meetings.

Thirty-five (57%) of the public relations internship administrators meet with the intern one time during the internship to discuss evaluations, but 25 (41%) of the respondents do not. The number of these meetings ranges from 1 to 15 during the course of the internship. The majority (43, or 70%) meet individually with each intern, while 18 (30%) of the public relations internship administrators meet with interns as a class. (Seven [11%] listed "Other." Percentages total more than 100%.)

After internships. An average of 26% of public relations interns at ACEJMC-accredited schools are offered jobs by their employers at the end of their internships at 47 (77%) programs. While the percentage is as low as 5% at some schools, it is as high as 90% at one school. An additional measure of program success is whether the sponsoring organizations return regularly. Only one program said "no."

Research Question 2:
What do public relations internship administrators consider the most successful aspects of their programs?
(Area E)

Fifty-three (87%) of the respondents completed questionnaire item 35--an open-ended question that provided qualitative data to answer Research Question 2. Thirty-eight percent (20) of those who answered the question said the most successful aspect of their public relations internship program is that students receive "real world" experience, including learning how to handle themselves in a professional office, how to deal with office politics, how to meet deadlines, and how to handle clients.

Other areas that respondents deem positive aspects of public relations internship programs include:

- Internships give students an opportunity to clarify professional goals (6);
- Internships provide on-going links to profession (6);
- Entry-level job opportunities are often offered at the end of internships (4);
- Students are given an opportunity to develop a portfolio (4);
- Variety of internships available (4);

- Students can see class work applied in professional setting (3);
- Quality of internship opportunities in a metro area (1);
- Communication with students in a small program which allows opportunity for discussion of internship success and problems (1);
- Students receive personal attention and guidance before, during, and after internship placement (1);
- Internships give students a competitive edge in the job market (1);
- Students must go through the job search process (1);
- Reputation of interns among local organizations (1); and
- Rapport and credibility between journalism school supervisor and professionals (1).

William Sledzik, associate professor at Kent State University, said a positive aspect of his school's internship program is "the way it connects KSU and students to real-world applications and completes the preparations of young professionals. We have a 90% placement rate of graduates. They leave here with outstanding portfolios."

According to Sheryl Swingley, internship coordinator at Ball State University's School of Journalism, the best part of her school's public relations internship program is that it "allows students to discover that their classroom experiences are valid and that they're better prepared for the work world than they expected."

Robert Martin, director of career placement and internships for the College of Communication at Pennsylvania State University, said placing public relations students in a variety of public relations firms, corporate departments, and for-profit and non-profit organizations is considered a success in his program.

Public Relations Sequence Coordinator for the School of Mass Communication at University of South Florida (Tampa campus) Gary Werner highlighted three successful aspects of his program: Students almost always intern with a sponsor in their primary area of interest;

they have a very large pool of sponsors to work with; and students choose their own internship, with the department's approval.

Kenneth McMillen, assistant professor at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Oklahoma, said internships are an "opportunity for students to experience office settings and meet expectations of timeliness and performance."

Jill Van Wyck, Drake University Internship Coordinator for the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, said almost every senior has completed at least one internship, and most have completed more than one. "Internships allow students to examine their career aspirations and require real-world skills. Our students land good jobs at higher pay because of internships."

Research Question 3:

What do public relations internship administrators consider areas of concern in their programs?

(Area F)

Fifty-one of the 61 respondents (84%) completed questionnaire item 36--an open-ended question that provided qualitative data to answer Research Question 3.

The most frequent concern--noted by 12 (24%) of item 36 respondents--is that employers often use interns merely as free clerical help, thereby misusing the interns and their skills and leaving them with a poor professional job experience. This concern relates directly to another negative listed by three of the respondents: "difficulty in maintaining quality internships." In fact, one respondent noted that "public relations internships, more than other sequence internships, involve menial, clerical, demeaning job duties."

Five (10%) of the 51 public relations internship administrators who responded to the question shared concerns about not having enough time to visit internship sites.

Other concerns listed by respondents include:

- Quality of students' work and its implications for future students (3);
- Some internships offer "thin" experience (2);
- Not enough students interested in performing an internship (2);
- Lack of regular organized meetings with all interns because of students' busy schedules (1);
- Number of students that qualify for internships (1);
- Would like to develop more paid opportunities (1);
- Level of commitment by on-site supervisors and students (1);
- Students lack experience in workplace politics and behavior (1);
- Constant monitoring of students and site-supervisors to assure students of professional experience (1);
- Need more time to supervise and identify placement opportunities (1); and
- Too many students take local internships instead of heading for the "big leagues" (1).

One respondent was concerned about a lack of professional ethics on the part of the sponsoring organization, which can give students the impression that it is okay to do "sloppy" work and to cut corners. Another public relations internship administrator said that many students lack professional maturity and risk embarrassing themselves and the school's program. Another noted that the department is becoming more concerned that students don't have the necessary workplace knowledge in connection with office politics and behavior.

One respondent replied that it would be nice to see more public relations agencies use interns, while another said many students find larger agencies are not always the best environment for interns to learn about public relations.

A respondent at a large university in the West questioned whether there is enough faculty supervision and if the program requires enough from students.

Collateral Materials

Respondents were asked to send any collateral material used in their respective public relations internship programs. Forty-two (69%) of the 61 respondents complied with this request. Collateral materials ranged from one sheet explaining how students should go about setting up their own internship to entire books on writing resumes, finding an internship, interviewing, student evaluation during the internship, and how final grades are determined. The University of Colorado at Boulder has a pamphlet for sponsoring organizations that outlines, among other things, how much time interns are allowed to spend on non-public relations work (20%).

Fifteen (34%) programs provided student internship agreements that students must sign and have on file with their unit before beginning an internship. However, of the programs that sent collateral materials, only 3 (7%) had materials informing organizational sponsors of their obligation to treat interns as required under civil rights laws.

Two schools (5%) had materials concerning internship pay. The University of South Carolina at Columbia specifically states in letters sent to organizations accepted into its internship program that "the student must be paid a minimum of $500 for the 140 hours of internship work we require." One school asks that in addition to a minimum stipend the interns be reimbursed for any work-related expenses (e.g., gas money for running company errands in their own car).

Many schools sent materials covering requirements for students to fulfill in order to receive a final grade and/or to receive credit for their internship. Twelve (27%) schools require a final essay at the end of the internship; 11 (25%) require students to file weekly reports with their academic supervisor; 7 (16%) require students to compile a portfolio of their work; 6 (14%) require interns to keep a daily journal; 3 (7%) require a monthly report from interns; and 2 (5%)

have students file an internship goals form during the first week of their internship. One school has interns turn in a research paper about their organizational sponsor.

Twenty-five (57%) schools base part of the intern's credit/grade on a final letter or evaluation from the intern's organizational supervisor. Six (14%) of the respondents provided materials that allow student interns to evaluate their internship experience. There were no guidelines for organizational supervisors to critique the internship program, except for final evaluations of interns.

Profile of ACEJMC-accredited Public Relations Internship Programs

This profile is based on the most typical responses of the 61 respondents whose ACEJMC-accredited programs offered at least some public relations coursework. (All 61 respondents included in this study also offered public relations internships.)

The public relations internship is typically offered in a public relations program that is a sequence (54%) housed with print news/editorial (93%). The primary focus is on undergraduates. Usually, public relations internships are not required (69%).

The public relations internship administrator is a faculty member (82%) who is responsible for other internships as well (77%) and who views the administration of internships as a secondary or minor duty (82%).

Each semester (fall, spring, and summer), 14 students are enrolled in a public relations internship. Only one internship per student is allowed for credit (62%).

Interns earn either pass/fail credit for successful completion of an internship (51%) or a letter grade (48%). Grades are decided jointly by the public relations internship administrator and the employer (62%). Student interns are paid "sometimes" (85%), with their typical pay--$5.49 per hour--determined by the sponsoring organization (92%).

Completion of course pre-requisites is required before students are eligible to enroll in an internship (87%), as are a minimum overall grade point average (GPA) of 2.32 (75%) and a minimum major GPA of 2.35 (79%). Junior class standing is also required (51%).

To participate in the public relations internship program, organizational sponsors must offer interns real, quality public relations work (51%), as well as have a qualified public relations professional as the intern's supervisor (39%). Internships, which are local (64%), are available in a variety of settings: advertising/public relations agencies (36%), corporations/for-profit organizations (29%), and non-profit organizations (29%). Both students and public relations internship administrators share responsibility for recruiting these sponsors (72%).

For their placement interviews, students go to the internship site (95%), after which the sponsoring organization makes the hiring decision--either solely (36%) or in combination with the intern and/or public relations internship administrator.

Interns are evaluated (87%) and meet with the public relations internship administrator at least once (57%), individually (70%). However, public relations internship administrators do not meet with on-site supervisors (61%).

After their internships, a quarter of the interns usually are offered a job by their sponsoring organizations (77%). And the same organizations regularly return to offer internships (98%).

Most schools have some related collateral materials for students and/or sponsors.

Discussion

Like the profile above, the following conclusions are drawn from the combined findings for each of the three research questions about the operation of these public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited programs and from the materials provided by respondents. Recommendations are also offered.

Positive Conclusions (Successes)

The positive conclusion that can be drawn is that public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited programs have some fundamental standards in place. The great majority (87%) have course pre-requisites, as well as minimum GPA requirements, both overall (75%) and in the major (79%). Half (51%) require sponsors to provide "real work" for interns, and the majority (85%) say interns are at least "sometimes" paid. At 62% of the programs, interns' grades are determined by both the organizational sponsor and the public relations internship administrator. Collateral materials provided by the public relations internship administrators are, for the most part, informative and well executed. Some are complete guidebooks.

Thirty-eight percent of the 53 respondents (of the total 61) who answered Research Question 2 said the most successful aspect of their public relations internship program is that students receive "real world" experience, including learning how to handle themselves in a professional office, how to deal with office politics, how to meet deadlines, and how to handle clients.

Additionally, at 77% of the programs, an average of one-quarter of interns are offered a permanent job with their sponsoring organization, and organizations that participate in the internship program return for more interns on a regular basis at 98% of these ACEJMC programs.

In summing up the success of her internship program, Jill Van Wyck, Drake University Internship Coordinator for the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, stated: "Internships allow students to examine their career aspirations and acquire real-world skills. Our students land good jobs at higher pay because of internships."

Negative Conclusions (Concerns)

However, some of the findings for Research Questions 1 and 3 as well as the profile also signal some concerns about the operation of the studied public relations internship programs. Eighty-two percent of the programs are run by faculty members who view administration of the public relations internship program as a secondary or minor job duty.

Very few schools (13%) require that interns receive pay, and at 92% of the schools the payment is determined solely by the sponsor. Wages for interns, most of whom have completed pre-requisites (87%), are only an average of $5.49 per hour--barely above the national minimum wage requirements of $5.15 per hour.

On the other hand, higher wages might not be justified for many of these programs' students, since the average minimum overall GPA requirement is only 2.32 (a low "C"), and the average minimum GPA in the major is about the same (2.35). Despite course pre-requisites, many public relations internship administrators complain that students are often ill-prepared for their internship responsibilities.

Half of the schools (49%) do not have requirements concerning the type of work students should be doing during their internship. In fact, not surprisingly, 12 (24%) of the 51 respondents (of the total 61) who answered Research Question 3 noted that one of their major concerns was that employers often use interns merely as free clerical and go-fer help. And only a minority of these schools (39%) require that a qualified public relations professional supervise the intern.

Surprisingly, interns are not evaluated by their organizational sponsor in some of these programs (13%). Interns at nearly half of these programs (43%) do not meet at all with the public relations internship advisor to discuss their evaluations, and only 39% of these programs' public relations internship administrators ever meet with the organizational sponsor during the internship.

On the other hand, perhaps this is not so surprising, given that the majority of these public relations internship advisors are faculty members for whom this oversight is not a primary duty. Sadly, they themselves bemoan a lack of time for internship site visits.

Overall Conclusion

Based on this study's sample, the operation of public relations internship programs at ACEJMC-accredited programs offers models for successful internship administration as well as some areas in need of improvement. Of course, this study's limitations must be acknowledged in interpreting any conclusion drawn from findings of a sample of 61 (56%) that might not represent the entire census of all 108 programs. Additionally, different factors--such as size and geographic location of programs--drive these varied internship programs.

Recommendations

Recommendations are offered for both implementation and future research.

For Implementation

Many good procedures at the studied programs should be maintained--such as course pre-requisites to prepare students for their internships and schools' insistence on "real work" and pay for interns. In addition, the commendable post-internship job-offer record should be monitored as a tribute to the schools, the public relations internship program administrators, and their interns. Some of the collateral materials provided could serve as models for fledgling programs.

It is always easier to find flaws and weaknesses. Nevertheless, four major areas of concern should be addressed: (a) public relation internship administration, (b) intern pay, (c) intern duties, and (d) evaluations.

(a) Public relations internship administration. Most program administrators are full-time faculty members who do not view internship administration as a primary duty. Either these faculty members should be given more support to run these programs or the administration of these programs should be turned over to qualified staff members who have a basic understanding of public relations (preferably through professional experience).

(b) Intern pay. More schools should attempt to encourage sponsors to pay their interns, and those whose interns are paid should seek a higher minimum wage.

At the same time, the minimum GPA requirement should be increased to ensure that sponsors get interns who are capable of real-job duties. While a minimum GPA is required at 75% of the schools, it is a low "C" average requirement, which means students need only do average coursework in internship pre-requisites.

(c) Intern duties. Moreover, more time needs to be spent monitoring how much real public relations work interns do. Public relations internship administrators should require that the on-site supervisor be a qualified public relations professional.

(d) Evaluations. Interns should be evaluated by organizational sponsors at all programs and more often than they are at those programs that do evaluate. Public relations internship administrators should also spend time with organizational sponsors and with interns. More of an effort needs to be made by ACEJMC-accredited programs to assure public relations interns and organizational sponsors have a quality internship experience.

For Future Research

Future research could include a parallel follow-up survey of interns and organizational sponsors regarding their views of public relations internship program operation. A comparison of these findings might be most instructive. Additionally, a related survey of public relations internship programs at non-accredited programs would provide a useful comparison as well as offer additional information.

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108 ACEJMC Accredited Programs (2000-2001) in the United States
(Listed Alphabetically by State)

NOTE: The 61 responding programs included in this study are underscored.

ALABAMA
- Auburn University
- University of Alabama

ALASKA
- University of Alaska Anchorage
- University of Alaska Fairbanks

ARIZONA
- Arizona State University
- University of Arizona

ARKANSAS
- Arkansas State University
- University of Arkansas, Little Rock

CALIFORNIA
- California Polytechnic State University
- California State University, Chico
- California State University, Fresno
- California State University, Fullerton
- California State University, Northridge
- San Francisco State University
- San Jose State University
- University of California
- University of Southern California

COLORADO
- Colorado State University
- University of Colorado

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
- American University
- Howard University

FLORIDA
- Florida A&M University
- Florida International University
- University of Florida
- University of Miami
- University of South Florida
- University of West Florida

GEORGIA
- University of Georgia

HAWAII
- University of Hawaii at Manoa

ILLINOIS
- Eastern Illinois University
- Northwestern University
- Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
- University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

INDIANA
- Ball State University
- Indiana University

IOWA
- Drake University
- Iowa State University of Science & Technol.
- University of Iowa

KANSAS
- Kansas State University
- University of Kansas

KENTUCKY
- Murray State University
- Western Kentucky University
- University of Kentucky

LOUISIANA
- Grambling State University
- Louisiana State University
- McNeese State University
- Nicholls State University
- Northwestern State University
- Southern University
- University of Louisiana at Lafayette
- University of Louisiana at Monroe

MARYLAND
- University of Maryland

MICHIGAN
- Central Michigan University
- Michigan State University

MINNESOTA
- St. Cloud State University
- University of Minnesota

MISSISSIPPI
- Jackson State University
- University of Mississippi
- University of Southern Mississippi

MISSOURI
- University of Missouri-Columbia

MONTANA
- The University of Montana

NEBRASKA
- University of Nebraska

NEVADA
- University of Nevada-Reno

NEW MEXICO
- New Mexico State University
- University of New Mexico

NEW YORK
- Columbia University
- New York University
- Syracuse University

NORTH CAROLINA
- University of North Carolina

OHIO
- Bowling Green State University
- Kent State University
- Ohio State University
- Ohio University

OKLAHOMA
- Oklahoma State University
- University of Oklahoma

OREGON
- University of Oregon

PENNSYLVANIA
- Pennsylvania State University
- Temple University

SOUTH CAROLINA
- University of South Carolina
- Winthrop University

SOUTH DAKOTA
- South Dakota State University
- University of South Dakota

TENNESSEE
- East Tennessee State University
- Middle Tennessee State University
- University of Memphis (Memphis State)
- University of Tennessee
- University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
- University of Tennessee at Martin

TEXAS
- Baylor University
- Texas A&M University
- Texas Christian University
- Texas Tech University
- Texas Woman's University
- University of North Texas
- University of Texas

UTAH
- Brigham Young University
- University of Utah

VIRGINIA
- Hampton University
- Norfolk State University
- Virginia Commonwealth University
- Washington & Lee University

WASHINGTON
- University of Washington

WEST VIRGINIA
- Marshall University
- West Virginia University

WISCONSIN
- Marquette University
- University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire
- University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh
- University of Wisconsin-River Falls